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LETTERS

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS,

AND

DOCUMENTS

CONNECTED WITH

HER PERSONAL HISTORY.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED,

35517

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

BY AGNES STRICKLAND,

AUTHOR OF

THE "LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND."

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VOL. III.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1843.

Grd
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TO

MISS JANE PORTER,

THE AUTHOR OF "THADDEUS OF WARSAW," AND EDITOR OF "THE APHORISMS OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY,"

THIS VOLUME

OF THE LETTERS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,

Is Inscribed,

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HER GENEROUS EXERTIONS, AND THOSE OF HER ACCOMPLISHED BROTHER,

THE LATE SIR ROBERT KERR PORTER,

IN OBTAINING FOR ME

TRANSCRIPTS FROM THE ROYAL AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY, ST. PETERSBURGH,

AND ALSO,

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF THE LOVE AND ESTEEM OF

HER AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

AGNES STRICKLAND.

REYDON HALL, SUFFOLK,
FEB. 2, 1843.

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Page 39, line 17, *for* 1658 *read* 1568.
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Page 138, line 2, *for* 1581 *read* 1582.
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

BY AGNES STRICKLAND.

THE interest excited by the two preceding volumes of the Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, which I recently had the honour of introducing to the public, has caused arrangements to be made for the completion of the series, by the publication of a third volume of letters and documents, illustrative of the personal history of that unfortunate queen.

This collection was commenced by my sister and myself, previously to the appearance of the first volume of the "Lives of the Queens of England," in preparation for a personal memoir of Mary, Queen of Scots, which in due time will be forthcoming. The happy idea of publishing the deeply interesting correspondence of this princess, in chronological order with other con-

temporary documents connected with her eventful career, first originated with Prince Alexander Labanoff, but his valuable volume, published at Paris, 1839, only embraced a portion of her inedited letters.

The first and second volumes of this work embodied translations of Prince Labanoff's collection, with a great number of intermediate letters and documents, of equal interest, so arranged as to preserve, as far as the occasional hiatuses in the correspondence would permit, a progressive stream.

The letters in the present volume fill up many of those chasms, and elucidate not a few mysterious passages throughout that portion of the correspondence, which is at present before the public, and unfold more incidents in the lives, both of Mary Stuart and Queen Elizabeth.

This collection includes translations of the precious autograph letters of Mary Stuart, and other documents connected with her annals, which have been for many years buried among the almost inaccessible MSS. in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburgh. Through the kind intercession of my late lamented friend, Sir Robert Kerr Porter, the signal favour was granted by the highest authority, that transcripts should be made for my use of such as were specified by his distinguished sister, Miss Jane Porter. Catalogues of the whole

were at the same time made for my information, with her able co-operation, by Mr. Atkinson, the learned librarian of his Imperial Majesty at St. Petersburgh,[a] and since the publication of the first and second volumes of the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, transcripts of the residue of the royal autographs in the imperial library have been most liberally forwarded to me by that gentleman.

Thus, in a manner almost unhoped for, are several important links in Mary Stuart's correspondence united to the general chain of historical documents already before the public. They are blended in the present volume, in chronological order, with many other letters and contemporary records of equal interest, many of them hitherto inedited, and, for the most part, translated, for the first time, from faithful transcripts of the original French autographs in the Bibliothèque du Roi, the Cottonian MSS., and other authentic sources, to which correct references are given with every document.

[a] On her return from St. Petersburgh, last summer, Miss Porter put me in possession of the above, together with a copy of Prince Alexander Labanoff's volume of the inedited Letters of Mary Stuart, which having become a scarce book, even in the native city of the noble Russian collector, a copy was with some difficulty procured for me by Sir Robert Porter, only three days before his too early death deprived England and the present age of one of their brightest ornaments.

It is not perhaps the least astonishing of the marvels which the systematic research of the present age has brought to pass, to see so large a portion of a correspondence which, for the most part, emanated from sternly guarded prisons—whether the letters were intercepted, as was frequently the case, by the watchful spies of Elizabeth's council, or, almost by miracle, reached their destinations in distant realms, surviving the accidents and natural effects of time, and thus, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, drawn progressively together, and placed, almost in the order in which they were written, before the general reader.

It is a study of no common interest to unfold page after page, bearing the impress of the queenly captive's feelings, while she penned her prison letters to friend and foe, and far distant kindred. The secret things she wrote in trembling apprehension, in the midnight privacy of her innermost closet oratory—clothed, in what she fondly imagined to be, the impenetrable, mysteries of cypher, and stealthily despatched by messengers who incurred the peril of the rack and the gibbet, if suspected of being charged with such missives—are now, for the most part, laid open to the world.

Most deeply, however, it is to be regretted

that a parcel of her autograph letters, so precious as historical evidences on disputed points, have been for ever lost to the investigators of truth, through the mistaken kindness of the noble-minded John Evelyn, in confiding them to hands unworthy of so sacred a trust as original, and unfortunately, uncopied documents. The fact shall be related in the injured philosopher's own words, which imply much more than his gentle nature permitted him to express, in reprobation of the dishonesty, or unconscientious carelessness of the parties, by whom he had been deprived of treasures, which money could not replace.

"But what most of all and still afflicts me," says he, "is, that those letters and papers of the Queen of Scots,[b] originals written with her own hand to Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester, before and during her imprisonment, which I furnished to Dr. Burnet (now Bishop of Salisbury), some of which were printed in his 'History of the Reformation,' those, *and others with them*, are pretended to have been lost at the press, which has been a quarrel between me and his lordship, who lays the fault on Chiswell (his printer or publisher); so between them, I

[b] Evelyn's Letter to Archdeacon Nicholson of Carlisle, vol. iv. of his works, p. 395.

have lost the originals, which had been, now, as safe records as any you can find in *that* history." [c]

The person who is guilty of the destruction of historical documents, commits a national crime next unto sacrilege, and violates the ninth commandment in the highest degree. Had Burnet felt an honest wish of having his work thus compared, he would not have committed the outrage of which Evelyn so indignantly complains. Such was the fate of one great mass of Mary's autograph letters. What could have induced Burnet to make away with autographs which he did not print from, would be difficult for any one to guess who had not closely examined his mode of writing history? But had Mary's letters given evil impressions of her character, they would have been better preserved, and restored to their rightful owner.

Another important series of letters, seemingly the correspondence of Mary's Secretary of State,

[c] Thus Evelyn explains the question so often asked by historians, of "What has become of the originals of Burnet's documents?" There is a deep satisfaction in every honest writer when, after making a statement often adverse to commonly received opinion, the reference is noted, which guides the reader to those silent witnesses, where truth keeps patient watch, till the veil woven by party prejudice, is withdrawn by time, and the antique autograph, the obsolete superscription identifies matter, and dispels many a falsehood with which the public have been abused.

Maitland of Lethington, have been lost to the public by a second defraud on Evelyn. The person who committed it has fewer partisans than Burnet, being no other than that Duke of Lauderdale, who has obtained much undesirable celebrity as one of the most unprincipled ministers of Charles II. Evelyn says,—

"The rest I have named I lent to Bishop Burnet's countryman, the late Duke of Lauderdale, who honouring me with his presence in the country, and after dinner discoursing of a Maitland (an ancestor of his), of whom I had several letters *impacketted* with many others, desired I would trust them with him for a *few days*. It is now more than a *few years*, that being put off from time to time, till the death of his grace; when his library was selling, my letters and papers could no where be found or recovered. So, as by this treachery my collection being broken, I bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend of mine (*supposed to be Pepys*) who is not likely to trust a *Scotsman* with any thing he values!"[a]

Those of Queen Mary's countrymen interested in her fate will forgive the taunt, and consider the provocation felt by this zealous collector of

[a] Evelyn's Works, vol. iv., Letter to Archdeacon Nicholson, p. 396.

her autographs. The pilfering *charlatans* of the *sans-culotte* school, who abstracted the royal autographs from the Bibliothèque du Roi, and by selling them in foreign lands enriched other collections, did less mischief in their vocation than the episcopal historian and ducal cabinet minister, by whom the worthy Evelyn was bereaved; since those, for instance, which found their way into Russia, through the gracious permission of the imperial owner, are still available for historical and biographical purposes. It is to be hoped that all the existing letters of Mary Stuart, of which many are at present locked up in private collections, will in time be thrown open to the public, in addition to those which I have now the satisfaction of introducing.

The commencing letters in this volume are addressed by Mary, soon after her return from France, to her maternal kinsman, the Duc de Nemours, of whom a little biographical notice is added at page 2. They are written in the easy graceful style which usually characterizes the familiar letters of this accomplished princess. In the third (p. 4) she speaks with pleasure of the good-will manifested towards her by the English, and with confidence of the friendly professions of Queen Elizabeth.

The letter to her uncle's widow, Anne, Duchess

of Guise (p. 6), on the subject of the approaching marriage of that lady with the said Duke of Nemours, is very interesting; it is dated at an anxious period, May, 1566, between the murder of Rizzio and the birth of her first-born child, James I.. None of the joyful anticipations with which the near prospect of bringing an heir to her realm might, under other circumstances, have filled the heart of the youthful sovereign, are expressed. She speaks only of the troubles and vexations with which she finds herself surrounded, and the weariness of body incidental to her condition; yet she enters with affectionate interest into the happy prospects of the duchess on her approaching union with her chivalric kinsman of Nemours, and adds her wishes for their mutual felicity with unaffected kindness. All these letters, as well as the succeeding one to the Duc de Nemours (p. 9), are from the Bethune Collection, in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

The first from the royal autograph collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh, is from the Queen of Scots to Charles IX. (p. 11), and was written the very day before she fell ill of the fever at Jedburgh, which had nearly proved fatal to her. The letter is brief, and chiefly interesting from the circumstances under which it was penned.

It is impossible to read without feelings of deep commiseration, the evidences of Mary's domestic infelicity, contained in the confidential letter of Monsieur du Croc, the French ambassador at her court, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, (p. 14). After mentioning the illness of the queen, he says, "I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow, nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same; still she repeats the words, 'I could wish to be dead.' You know very well the injury her majesty hath received is very great, and she can never forget it." In this letter, Du Croc predicts that there would never more be any good understanding between Mary and her husband,—the silver tie was broken: she had been deceived and outraged, and he had lost her confidence. "The queen cannot perceive him speaking with any nobleman," pursues Du Croc, "but presently she suspects some plot amongst them." This sad state of things subsisted at the time preparations were making for the baptism of the infant prince, whose birth ought to have proved a new bond of union between the royal parents.

The restless agitation of Darnley at that period, and the contempt with which he was regarded by the representative of the Court of

France, and the piteous description of the profound melancholy of the poor young queen, whom his excellency says, when he came to speak to her on private business, "he found laid on her bed, and weeping sore," (p. 18), afford a touching picture of sceptred misery.

This letter is dated the 23rd of December, 1566. The next is from the same to Queen Catherine de Medicis, May 16, 1567, scarce five months later, and describes, with equal power of tragic eloquence, the hapless Mary's deportment as the bride of the ruffian Bothwell, and her unutterable despair. (p. 19).

It is impossible for any one who reads those details, and remembers that they were written by a person who was behind the scenes, and related that which he had heard and seen, to believe for one moment that Bothwell was ever the object of Mary Stuart's love; or that her marriage with him originated from any other cause than dire necessity. In her differences with Darnley we trace the bitterness of offended lovers on both sides; while, in her demeanour to Bothwell, as described by Du Croc, we trace no other feeling than terror and loathing repugnance. That gentleman, who was on terms of confidence with Mary, and had accurate means of knowing her

real sentiments with regard to those abhorrent nuptials, evidently regarded them as compulsory; and in this very letter to the Queen-regent of France, written only the day after their celebration, says, "I will neither mix myself up with those nuptials, nor will I recognize him (Bothwell) as the husband of the queen. I believe he will write to you by the Bishop of Dumblane. *You ought not to answer him;*" (p. 20.) This letter throws more light on the real nature of the defenceless queen's position with regard to Bothwell, than any evidence that has yet been quoted by friend or foe.

A very curious inedited letter from Queen Elizabeth to Catherine de Medicis, on the subject of Mary Stuart, occurs, (p. 24.) It is from the Imperial Collection at St. Petersburgh, dated October 16, 1567, while Mary was a prisoner in the Castle of Lochleven. Elizabeth speaks of her with compassion "as her desolate cousin the Queen of Scots," and expresses satisfaction at the declaration she had just received, that it was the intention of Catherine and her son, the King of France, to take her part.

Two heart-rending letters from Mary herself to her royal mother-in-law of France, follow. In the first, she implores for the assistance, or even

the slightest show of assistance, from the French coast; and goes on to say, "The miseries I endure are more than I once believed it was in the power of human sufferance to sustain and live. Give credit to this messenger, who can tell you all. I have no opportunity to write, but while my jailers are at dinner," (p. 26). In the second, she assures Catherine "that next to heaven she relies solely on her for assistance." It is superscribed "To Madame the Queen of France, my mother-in-law. From my prison the last day of March."

At pp. 29 and 30, the reader is presented with letters from Mary's base brother, the Regent Murray, to the queen-mother and the King of France, soliciting their friendship and alliance under the royal signature of James Stuart. These are from the autograph collection in the Imperial Library, and are curious as historical documents. Another letter from the same source, addressed by Mary's faithful servant, Lord Fleming, to the King of France occurs (p. 32), imploring succour for Dumbarton, which he was holding out for his royal mistress against the rebels. It is written with the plainness and manly spirit of a brave and loyal gentleman, who had determined, come what would, to perform his duty. His letter is

dated April 24, 1568; but, on the news of Mary's escape from Lochleven he, and many other of the chivalrous nobles who espoused her cause, hastened to rally round her person when she arrived at Hamilton; and he was one of those who accompanied her on her fatal retreat into England. He is mentioned by Mary in her brief agitated letter (p. 38), written from Carlisle on the 28th of May, to the queen-mother of France, as the bearer of that missive, a tattered fragment of which is derived from the Imperial Collection.

So also is the beautiful letter addressed by her to Charles IX. (Carlisle, June 26, 1568), where, after expressing her fears "that the injustice of Elizabeth, or at least her council, is preparing for her a much longer sojourn in England than she could wish," (p. 39,) she informs her royal brother-in-law that Lord Fleming had not been permitted to pass beyond London, therefore "she has despatched George Douglas, the present bearer, to inform his majesty fully of all that had befallen her." She renders a deserved tribute to the generous self-devotion of that chivalric partisan, and recommends him, and others of her faithful adherents, especially Lord Fleming, to the protection of King Charles. This letter, which supplies one of the broken links of the most interesting

historical correspondence that ever was written, was penned on the same day with that to Queen Elizabeth, (vol. i. p. 55).[c]

It is certain that Lord Fleming had either made his escape from London, or obtained leave to proceed on his mission to France, soon after, for in August, 1568, his autograph appears among those of the principal lords of the queen's party, who were still defending Dumbarton in the name of their captive sovereign, and jointly addressed letters to the Queen-regent of France and the young king, imploring succour, and detailing with honest indignation the injuries their queen had suffered from Murray and his confederates, whom they contemptuously term "one Earl of Murray and a pack of traitors, *(ung tas de Traitres,)* his accomplices;" (p. 43). The statement of these nobles, of which the original documents are in the Imperial Collection, affords sufficient evidence that Mary, far from having been abandoned by all her peers, and expelled from her dominions by the general act of her subjects, had still a powerful party among the ancient aristocracy and people of Scotland, and

[c] In the next edition, the two collections will be amalgamated and chronologized in successive, instead of lateral order, which would have been done in the present instance, but for the sake of allowing the purchasers of the first and second volumes the opportunity of completing their sets.

that she had been cut off in her retreat to Dumbarton by the able generalship of her allied enemies, Murray and Morton; and being thus circumvented, and fearing to fall into their cruel hands once more, she decided on taking refuge in England, and in an evil hour, threw herself upon the friendship and honour of her kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth.

The hiatus in the chain of Mary's correspondence, which occurs in vol. i., between her last letter to Queen Elizabeth, from Bolton, January 22nd, 1568-9, and that from Tutbury, of the 10th of November, 1569, nearly ten months, is filled up in the present volume with seventeen very important letters; commencing with that addressed by Mary to Queen Elizabeth, February 10th, 1569, after her compulsory removal to Tutbury, (see p. 47). These, with the exception of that from Mary to Catherine de Medicis (p. 52), (which is from the autograph collection in the Imperial Library), are from the copies preserved in the despatches of the French ambassador, Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon, and will be found valuable contributions to the personal history of both Mary and Elizabeth. They appear, indeed, to have escaped the research of historians and collectors of royal letters; and are now, for the first time, translated and placed in chronological

order before the reader. They contain the expostulations of the unfortunate queen, at the constraint that was put upon her will, by her unjustifiable detention, and deprivation of free communication with her own councillors and friends, the unkind abridgment of her retinue, and the non-performance of any of the flattering promises with which she had been deluded. Then follow her anxious entreaties for succour, with piteous apologies to her inexorable kinswoman, for importuning her with her sorrows; imploring for liberty to pass into France, where she was still loved and honoured, or even to return to "the cold and faithless north," whence she had fled, in her sore distress, to encounter treatment in England, which, though attributable only to Queen Elizabeth and her council, has left a stain on the brightness of the English character. There are several new letters from Elizabeth in reply to Mary's supplications and remonstrances, of the diplomatic and metaphorical character, which marks the epistolary style of that queen. Her letter to the Queen of Scots (p. 82) is very curious, and worthy of attention.

Mary's letters to La Mothe Fenelon are particularly interesting, and show that she was on terms of the most unreserved confidence with him. Portions of several of those letters were written

in cypher; and in these she declares all her affairs, and her most secret thoughts and projects, with the trusting simplicity of a child. There is every reason to believe that La Mothe Fenelon took a generous interest in her fate, for he rarely, indeed, writes to either Charles IX. or to Catherine de Medicis, without recommending the Scottish queen and her affairs to their attention, with expressions of the deepest commiseration for the situation of that unfortunate lady. It was through his agency that almost all Mary's letters were transmitted, not only to his own court, but to her friends and partisans in England and Scotland.

In an extract from one of his letters to the King of France (p. 97), he notices that in the folding of one of his despatches, he had enclosed a little letter from the Queen of Scots, and adds, "I have now sent a copy by which you may see the state of the said lady, and consult on the means of moving the heart of the Queen of England, if it be not too hard." He was constantly in the habit of remonstrating with Elizabeth on the subject of her royal captive, which elicited many a stormy burst of anger from that queen, as will be seen in the memoir of Elizabeth, in the next volume of the "Lives of the Queens of England."

The first group of Mary's letters, for which we are indebted to the despatches of La Mothe

Fenelon in the year 1569, contain allusions to the romantic scheme for her deliverance, and her restoration to royal rank and power, through the love and chivalry of the premier peer of England.

The series of Mary's love-letters to the Duke of Norfolk, commencing at page 101, are chiefly from the Cottonian and Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. They were written originally in cypher, which may account for some occasional obscurities in the sense, which was not always clearly understood by Elizabeth's decypherer—Phillips. They form, however, an important portion of the epistolary remains of Mary Stuart, and ought to be read by all persons who are interested in her history.

A touching letter from Mary to her mother-in-law, Margaret, Countess of Lenox, will be found at page 116; to which is appended an historical note, explanatory of the connexion of the husband of that lady with the crown of Scotland, and the inimical influence produced by his counsels on the conduct of his son, and the affairs of the queen.

The conviction expressed by Mary in that letter, that her innocency of the crimes with which her enemies had branded her, would one day become manifest to the mother of Darnley, was borne out

by the event; and in her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow (p. 133), in which she mentions the death of the countess, May 2nd, 1578, she says, "This good lady was, thanks to God, in very good correspondence with me these five or six years by-gone; and has confessed to me, by sending letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, the injury she did me by the unjust pursuits which she allowed to go out against me in her name, through bad information; but chiefly by the express orders of the Queen of England, and the persuasion of her council."

These letters of the Countess of Lenox to her royal daughter-in-law, if not destroyed by those who took possession of Mary's papers and effects, after her murder at Fotheringay Castle, will, it is to be hoped, one day add their evidence to the documentary proofs of her innocence of the death of Darnley.

In this volume will be found (p. 123) the third and last confession of Bothwell on his death-bed, in addition to the previous confessions of that great state criminal, in exoneration of his calumniated sovereign, published in the first volume of this work.

Mary's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, June 12, 1576 (of which I have only been able

to obtain the fragment quoted by Keith), contains interesting comments on the death of that wretched man, (p. 125).

The reader is presented with several of Mary's pretty familiar letters to her aunt and cousin, the Duke and Duchess of Nemours, from the Bethune Collection. There are also affectionate letters from her son, the young King of Scotland, in the years 1581-3, which never reached the hands of the captive queen, who endured the bitter sorrow of believing herself neglected and despised by her only child. At page 142, occurs a beautiful and loving letter to her god-daughter, the child of M. de Mauvissière, the French ambassador, who had succeeded La Mothe Fenelon at the court of Queen Elizabeth. There are several letters of great importance in this collection from Mary to that statesman. In the first (p. 143), she indignantly adverts to the scandalous imputations the Countess of Shrewsbury had thrown upon her reputation, and entreats him to use his influence to have the promulgators punished. She there, and more especially in another letter to this ambassador (at p. 155), unveils the intrigues of the Countess of Shrewsbury, to supplant her and her son in the succession, in favour of the countess's infant grand-daughter, Lady Arabella Stuart.

The letters to Mauvissière, in March, 1585,

are very confidential, and throw considerable light on the private affairs and feelings of the captive queen at that dreary period of her life. They were written from her gloomy prison of Tutbury; and the second of these (p. 176), bespeaks the agonizing state of excitement under which it was penned. Cut off, as she was, and had been for many years, from confidential correspondence with her son, she had been led to believe, by their mutual enemies, that he was acting a base and unnatural part towards her, which will be fully explained by the letters and marginal notes; and by the letter to Mauvissière on the same subject (vol. ii., p. 64), dated March 11, 1585, which forms the intermediate link between these two letters, the first of which is dated March the 9th, the last March 12th.

Mary's name had not been included in the general treaty that one of the chief law-officers in Scotland came to England to conclude between the young King James, Queen Elizabeth, and the Court of France; this the fallen queen regarded as an unpardonable disrespect on the part of her son; and, as if the omission of recognizing her, from whom his royal dignity as the sovereign of Scotland was derived, were not sufficiently painful, some one had cruelly told her, "that her son had sent word to her, that the reason he could not

join with her in that treaty was, because she was held captive in a desert," (p. 180). This was the additional drop of gall, it seems, which made the already brimming cup of bitterness o'erflow. The patience of the long-suffering victim, sick alike in mind and body, gave way. She was wounded in the tenderest part, and from the dearest quarter; and without pausing to inquire how far her son was accountable for the insult that had been aimed at her, she calls on heaven and earth to attest her wrongs, and appeals even to her deadliest foe—to Elizabeth herself—for sympathy and redress. She complains to her of the unnatural conduct, the cruel ingratitude of her son, and implorês her to interpose, with the authority of a godmother, to teach him his duty better. It is difficult to believe that Mary was in a state of perfect sanity when she penned such a letter to Elizabeth (p. 183), which must have been prompted by a similar impetus of the brain, to that which impels the human frame to self-destruction under the pressure of intolerable misery. Indeed, her sufferings of mind and body, added to the constant state of irritation in which she was purposely kept by her pitiless tormentors, were sufficient to have unsettled the reason of any sensitive female. Let the reader refer to her statement of the cruel treatment she received at this very period, (vol. ii.

p. 78), and judge of the irritability, mental and physical, which it was calculated to produce, and the only wonder will be, that instead of writing one or two angry letters, all her correspondence was not in the same tone. Maternal resentment was, however, but a transient cloud with Mary, and in her letter to M. D'Esneval, the new French ambassador to the court of Scotland (p. 192), she speaks with tender solicitude of her son, and begs to be informed, from time to time, of his health and welfare, observing, "that her extreme affection as a mother has never failed towards him, though his bad ministers had rendered him forgetful of her sufferings."

D'Esneval employed the only painter in Edinburgh to copy a portrait of the young king, at the desire of the captive mother, whose longing eyes had never been destined to look upon her only child since she went to see him, nineteen years before, at Stirling, where he was nursed. It was on her return from that ill-starred journey that she was seized and abducted by Bothwell, from which all her subsequent calamities proceeded.

The letter from Lord Burleigh to Secretary Davison (p. 196), conducts the reader to the period of Mary's mock trial at Fotheringay, when "this queen of the castle," as she is styled, with pitiless facetiousness, by the cold-hearted states-

man, had appeared for the last time before the commissioners selected by Elizabeth for the consummation of the tragedy.

The earnest agitated letter of James I. to his treacherous ambassador at the Court of London at this period (p. 199), is worthy of attention, for seldom have that prince's filial exertions to preserve his mother's life been recorded in the way they merit.

The report of the two French ambassadors, Believre and Chasteauneuf, to their sovereign, Henry III., of their interviews with Queen Elizabeth, in the vain attempt of prevailing upon her to relinquish her intention of putting the Queen of Scots to death (p. 200), is a document of great interest, detailing in the most lively and graphic manner the demeanour of that queen. Her petulant language, and the circumstance of raising her voice, during their private conference, so loud as to be heard all over the presence-chamber, and even by the yeomen of her guard, are recorded with sly minuteness by those two nobles; not forgetting her coquettish allusion, in the midst of her anger, to her former rejection of the addresses of Philip II. of Spain, as if that were the only cause of his hostility. This letter sufficiently refutes the unfounded assertions of some historians, that Henry III. had no wish to avert the doom

of his hapless sister-in-law; and affords abundant evidence of the earnest endeavours made by his accredited representatives for that purpose, and of the great commiseration with which those gentlemen regarded her situation. From this letter we learn, that immediately after the sentence of death was pronounced to Mary, at Fotheringay, by Lord Buckhurst, the authorities there not only took away her dais (as related by herself, vol. ii., p. 108), but were guilty of the needless cruelty of hanging her chamber and her bed with black, (p. 210); thus in a manner compelling the royal victim to sleep in her hearse every night, for three months before her mangled form was laid there, bleeding from the headsman's axe.

The last and noblest letter written by Mary to Elizabeth (p. 212), December 19th, 1586, the day after sentence of death had been pronounced to her by Lord Buckhurst, has never before been translated, as a whole, from the original French, although portions from Camden's Latin Abstract have been quoted by some historians.

It is worthy of observation that Mary unconsciously falls into the classic language of Polyxena, while preferring her request to Elizabeth, that her body may be delivered to her poor desolated servants, to be laid in holy ground, with the other queens of France, her predecessors, especially

near the late Queen of Scotland, her mother: —"Refuse me not my last request, that you will permit free sepulchre to this body[f] when the soul is separated; and after all is over, that they (her servants) together, may carry away my poor corpse as secretly as you please, and speedily withdraw,"—(p. 215).

This beautiful and touching letter concludes with a sentence which is worthy of being engraved on every heart: "From the first days of our capacity to comprehend our duties, we ought to bend our minds to make the things of this world yield to those of eternity."

"The perusal of this letter," as Leicester informed Walsingham, "drew tears from Elizabeth;" but how far it proceeded in the way of softening her heart, or those of the pitiless junta by whom she was urged to carry the deadly work through, let the startling correspondence between Walsingham, Davison, and Sir Amias Paulet testify (see pp. 224—229), and also Elizabeth's letter to the latter, (p. 323).

[f] "And if my dying accents you will hear,
And hearing, grant this last, this little prayer,
No slave, but Priam's daughter I implore,
You to my mother would my corse restore.
Freely restore, and let me not be sold,
Or rites of burial be exchanged for gold."

Mary's worst pang in laying her head on the block, was distrust of her son, which he was very far from deserving, as his letter on her sentence fully proves, written in defiance of all consequences, to the formidable Elizabeth, and now, for the first time, placed in intelligible language before the public, (p. 220).

One of the letters written by Mary Stuart on the evening before her execution, will be found in this volume, (p. 229); it was addressed by her to De Préau her almoner, when denied the consolation of receiving the last rites of her church from him, her spiritual director, or even of seeing him, though he was under the same roof; she requests him "to advise her for her soul's health in writing," and tells him, withal, that all her petitions had been denied, even that concerning the disposal of her lifeless remains.

At page 231, will be found a contemporary narrative of the last hours of her life, as transmitted by the French ambassadors to Henry III. It contains various incidents not mentioned in any other account, and is evidently written by a foreigner, who was a spectator of the tragedy; perhaps some one employed by the French envoys for that purpose. This additional record of the courageous and lofty spirit with which Mary

Stuart met her doom, is followed by the letter in which Queen Elizabeth insults the son of her victim with her condolences, and shrinking with shame and vain remorse from her own deed, forswears it.

The extract from the evidence of Frederick Devon, Esq., before the House of Lords, on the destruction and sale of the exchequer documents (p. 245), while it furnishes various particulars of the allowance made to the Earl of Shrewsbury and to Sir Amias Paulet, for the maintenance of Mary, Queen of Scots, &c., proves also that a portion of those mouldering records has risen up from the dust and darkness of ages to expose secret service-money paid to Nau, and the deception that was practised in the farce of Davison's disgrace.

In the concluding portion of this volume will be found contemporary historical letters and incidents, calculated to explain and elucidate more fully the foregoing documents. There is also (at p. 269) a brief dissertation on the forged love-letters pretended, by Murray and Morton, to have been written by Queen Mary to the Earl of Bothwell, with specimens of such as can be quoted.

With regard to those letters one more observation may be made, which would have been consi-

dered by the great Lord Bacon[s] as conclusive—they are not in Mary Stuart's style, and they bear no resemblance in sentiment, construction, or language, to any of her epistolary compositions. Let any one compare them, for instance, with her love-letters to the Duke of Norfolk, and it will be apparent that they were not written by the same person, though ostensibly on similar subjects. Perhaps no sovereign in the world ever wrote so many letters as Mary Stuart, but of these, it must be remarked, that purity of thought and expression is the pervading charm of all.

Her most confidential communications not only bear the test of decypherment, but furnish evidences in her favour, when thus exposed to open view. She discusses the possibility of escape it is true; and she implores her royal kindred of France and Spain, if they cannot obtain her liberation by their intercession with the Queen of

[s] It is a well-known fact that Bacon once saved Hayward, the historian, from the infliction of the torture, to which Queen Elizabeth was desirous that he should be subjected, in order to make him confess whether he had not written a treasonable book which had given her great offence. "Nay, madam," replied Bacon, "never rack his person but rack his style, for with your leave, we will shut him up in prison, and leave him pen, ink, and paper, for his amusement; and by the comparison of what he shall write with that book, we shall presently discover whether he be the real author."—*Birch's Memorials of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

England, to use menaces, and if they are not regarded, to send an armed force for her rescue: and who, in her situation, would not have done the same? She complains to her far distant friends of the cruelty of her foes; but she neither reviles the authors of her sufferings, nor expresses a desire of vengeance. In a word, the more we search into documentary evidence, the fairer does the character of Mary Stuart appear; and it may be truly asserted, that there is not in any of the numerous letters, that can be strictly authenticated as her own, an instance in which she forgets the character of the Christian and the gentlewoman. With regard to her religious opinions, they were of course opposed on many points to those of the reformed church: yet her son, James I., who was a zealous literary champion of the Protestant faith, according to the articles and tenets set forth in our own liturgy, affords the following testimony of the liberality of her sentiments on that subject:—

"And for the queen my mother, of worthy memory, although she continued in the religion in which she was nourished, yet was she far from being superstitious or *jesuited* therein. And for proof that that renowned queen my mother was not superstitious, in all her letters (whereof I received many) she never made mention of her reli-

gion, nor laboured to persuade me in it, so with her last words she commanded her master-houshold (*maître d'hôtel*), a Scottish gentleman and my servant, yet alive, (Sir Andrew Melville,)—she commanded him, I say, to tell me, 'That although she was of another religion than that wherein I was brought up, yet she would not press me to change unless my own conscience forced me to it, for so that I led a good life, were careful to do justice and govern well, she doubted not but I would be in a good case (even) with the profession of mine own religion.'"[h]

[h] King James the First's Works "Premonition to all Christian Monarchs," p. 294.

LETTERS

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Nemours.[a]

(Supposed) 1562.

My cousin,—Chesein having staid, that he may himself conduct some pieces of artillery that the King of France,[b] Monsieur my good brother-in-law has sent me, he meantime forwarded to me his letters, among which I found one of yours, not less courteous than all the former ones you have sent me.

I am much concerned to find you have such difficulty in writing, on account of the wound in one of your hands; and thus it seems to me, that among so much good company and good cheer it must be an inconvenience to employ yourself, (so little fine weather as you have had there, as I hear,) in writing to one so much out of the world as I am here; where, notwithstanding, I can as-

[a] Bethune MS. No. 9126, folio 16. Bibliothèque du Roi; Paris. Autograph.

[b] Charles IX.

sure you that your news will always be as well received, while I live, as from any friend or relative I may have; for I know not any from whom I hear with more pleasure.[c]

I will not tire you with a long discourse, to avoid which I will draw to an end at present;

[c] This correspondent of Mary Queen of Scots was the original of one of Brantome's most brilliant portraits. "Jacques de Savoy, Duc de Nemours, was," says that writer, who knew him well, "one of the most accomplished of men, whether among princes, lords, or gentlemen; he was beautiful in person, had the utmost grace and majesty of figure, was most true of his word, was brave and valiant, good-natured, agreeable and accessible; he spoke well and wrote well, either in rhyme or prose, and dressed so well withal, that in his youthful prime the whole court of France took him for a pattern and followed his fashions. He was imitated, too, in his gestures and manners, but not so easily, for his good sense and noble mind were apparent in his graceful motions and fine address, but all so unstudied, that his elegance of demeanour seemed born with him;" his only fault was, admiring and being admired by the ladies a little too much; "yet was his heart true to only one." "Often have I seen him," continues Brantome, "leave vespers before they were half over to ride at the ring, or perform some of his chivalric exercises in the court of our king's palace, where he was the attraction of a thousand fair spectators." The Duc de Nemours was a successful warrior; he had been trained to war by Bayard, and had been reared among the later campaigns of Francis I.; he was therefore too old for a husband for Mary Stuart, although he was a single man when she wrote these letters; they are so familiarly written, and with such a confiding reliance on his good offices, that it might be thought she could have been easily induced to have given her hand to her gallant cousin, who, with all his gifts of mind and person, might have been an able assistant in governing her impracticable people. Nemours was, however, desperately enamoured of her aunt, Anne d'Esté, Duchess of Guise, whom he afterwards married.

and praying to God that he will give you as much happiness as you merit, and wishing you as much content as you can desire for yourself, I shall, and will be always,

Your very good cousin,

MARIE.

The Queen of Scots to M. le Duc de Nemours.[d]

(Supposed date) 1563.

My cousin,—I have received both your letters, one by Claurenault, and the other by Montignac, and find by them the place where you are. It seems to me that you take no little pains in writing to me so often; and I also know how little means I have of sending you news from this place that can be agreeable to you.

I fear that I am troublesome to you in what you so often do for me; nevertheless, I would not lose this opportunity of writing to you a word, rather to shew that I would not omit what was due from me, than to attempt to answer your very kind letters, and to assure you, by the same means, that I have no other opinion but that you are the good friend and relation to which your letters bear testimony.

I thank you also much for the friendly offices

[d] Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Bethune Collection, No. 9126. folio 18. It is an autograph.

you have performed for Pienne, at my request. I should be glad to have the power of recompencing you by somewhat in the same manner, or at least by something of more advantage to you than a tiresome letter, to which I will put an end, after commending myself to your good graces; and may God grant that in all things of greater importance than the safe arrival of my letters, not only his winds, but all heaven may be propitious to you in every good design. Such is the wish of

Your good cousin,

MARIE.

The Queen of Scots to the Duc de Nemours.[c]

1563.

My cousin,—As I find by your letters, and by the information I have elsewhere, that the English have made good mention of the friendship borne to me by the Queen of England, my sister, of which she has, indeed, made me indications on so many occasions, that I dare not and will not doubt it; and I hope well she will give me more sure demonstrations of it. If we see that I yield somewhat this year (which is too far advanced), I expect to recover the next. However this may be, I feel myself obliged to you for all the good

[c] Bibliothèque du Roi, Bethune Collection, No. 9126, fol. 24. It is entirely in Mary's hand writing, endorsed "*A mon Cousin, M. le Duc de Nemours.*"

you wish me, and assure you that you can desire it to no person who rejoices more to hear of any that happens to yourself than I do; and that I may not interrupt the pleasure which is given you by the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Savoy at court, I will not write a longer letter, also not to do wrong to the patience of my bearer, who is far too grand to take charge of a long discourse; therefore I will finish this, by my recommendations to your good grace, and with prayer to God that he will grant you, my cousin, health, and a long and happy life.

Your very good cousin,

MARIE.[f]

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[g]

June 14, 1565.

Right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commend

[f] This letter is supposed to be written in 1563, soon after Mary had returned to Scotland, when she hoped all things, and put trust even in the friendship of Elizabeth. It proves that she mentioned that queen with respect and complacency to her most intimate friends, before experience had taught her the nature of her professions. She playfully alludes to the self-sufficiency of the person by whom she sends the despatch; perhaps some coxcomical attaché to the French embassy.

[g] This letter is written in Scotch, and of course not by the hand of Mary, whose first attempt to write any of our insular dialects did not occur till she penned at Bolton Castle that unintelligible letter to Sir Francis Knolles, printed, vol. i., p. 78. All the despatches of Mary tending to identify her locality in Scotland (often a matter of fierce dispute), are of great historical importance.

us unto you. For certain matters of importance, tending to the maintenance and conservation of the good intelligence and amity standing betwixt us, we have presently *direct* towards you the bearer hereof, our trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Maister John Hay, commendatore of Balmerinoch, our principal master of requests.

Praying you, therefore, good sister, to grant him audience, and in *sic* things as he shall declare unto you on our behalf, to give him firm credit as to ourself.

And so, right high, right excellent and right mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commit you to the tuition of Almighty God.

Given under our signet, at our town of St. Johnstown, the 14 day of June, and of our reign the xxiii. year.

Your sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

The Queen of Scots to her Aunt, Duchess of Guise.[h]

1566.

My aunt,—I received both your letters almost at the same time. The one through Mauvissière (the French ambassador), in which you

[h] Bibliothèque du Roi. Bethune MS., No. 9126, fol. 9.

shew displeasure against me, vexed me not a little with you; however, on the whole, I have full proof of your goodwill towards me, and there shall be nothing done on my part to lessen it.

I shall use no fine words in telling you how much in a short time, my scene has been changed from the utmost ease and content in myself, to continual trouble and vexation, as you must have already heard by the secretary of my ambassador, who, I have heard, has just arrived at Paris before the departure of this; his other servitor, whom I must caution you to tell nothing more, and also (not to wrong the ability of Mauvissière), who will give you a relation of the truth of that which I made him understand.

As to the rest, I see by what you have written to me, the great offers that the Duke of Nemours,[1] has made to you, which I find are very

[1] Offers of marriage. They soon after married. There had been some scandal circulating previously. It is not possible to form perspicuous ideas on the subject of Mary Queen of Scots domestic connections, and her attachment to her mother's relatives, which was very strong, without a view of the members of the house of Guise. The mother of Queen Mary was eldest daughter of Claude de Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, who married Antoinette de Bourbon, the grandmother Mary often mentions in these letters. Besides Mary of Guise, the duke and duchess were the parents of, first—François, Duc de Guise, surnamed Balafré, who was much celebrated both by the capture of Calais, and in the religious civil wars of France. He was assassinated by Poltrot, a Huguenot, before Orleans in 1565; second, Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, who was said to be the chief

advantageous for my cousins,[1] your children; and since it pleases you (as to one of your best friends and relations), to communicate that which is so important to you, I would in nothing conceal my sentiments, although in my judgment little worthy to counsel you: on the other side, I do not see or hear elsewhere anything which can be to their prejudice or yours, but, on the contrary, it appears to me, that you ought to hope to be altogether one of the happiest women in the world.

contriver of the League. He was very handsome, and was scandalized as the paramour of Catherine de Medicis, Queen of France; third, Louis, Cardinal de Guise, who died in 1578; fourth, Claude, first Duke of Aumale; fifth, to René, founder of the branch of Duke of Elboueff; sixth, François, Grand Prior of France, and General of the Gallies of France.

[1] Mary was first cousin to the celebrated Henry Duc de Guise, who was assassinated at the castle of Blois by the orders of Henry III.; likewise to his brother Henry the second Cardinal de Guise, who was murdered at the same time with his brother, at the castle of Blois, December 23, 1588. Their bodies were chopped to pieces and consumed in a great fire made in the grate of the guard-room, still shown in the castle.

The line of Guise was a cadette branch of the house of Lorraine, whose princes proudly looked down on the Capetian kings of France, and ever considered themselves the representatives of Charlemagne. The family of Lorraine, in all its branches, were remarkable for beauty, lofty stature, impetuous valour, and that degree of brilliant genius which is seldom attended with great worldly prosperity, and induces withal no little turbulence. They were nearly as unfortunate as the royal house of Stuart.

In the civil wars of France the family of Guise were at the head of the ultra-Catholic faction, and were really quite as troublesome to the reigning monarchs as the leaders of the Huguenots. They were exceedingly popular with the citizens of Paris, whose favourite oath was, "By the double cross of Lorraine."

So I desire, and I wish contentment to that *seigneur* to whom you are about to be allied, to whom I pray you make my commendations by the first opportunity.

I kiss also the hands of the darling, and beg her to excuse me, for so much am I cumbered with this burden, I cannot write to her; I shall not remain more than six weeks in this place. I pray to God that he will render you happy and content.

From the Castle of Lislebourg (Edinburgh), this of May.

Your very affectionate and obedient niece,

MARIE.[k]

The Queen of Scots to M. le Duc de Nemours.

(Supposed date) 15[illegible].

Neither the Sieur de Mauvissière, (fearing accident), or the ambassador (du Croc), have

[k] This letter is a much needed link in the chain of Queen Mary's letters. It is written with some little feelings of family pique to her aunt, the Duchess of Guise, one of whose letters, it seems, had been in a strain of reproof or reproach, which has evidently left its impression on the mind of the queen, though the other letter had apparently succeeded in soothing her. The time was just after the murder of Rizzio, when Mary had retired to the castle of Edinburgh. Mary was prevented from writing to some lady of the house of Guise, whom she calls the darling, being so cumbered by her size, for she was within a few weeks of bringing James into the world. The letter was written in May, probably about the 21st, for she mentions leaving Lislebourg in six weeks, and she was put to bed in Edinburgh Castle, June 19th.

yet brought me your letters, at least, not those of your own writing. If I do not get them on the return of Jacques, one of your old servants, and likewise mine, write a word by him to assure us that you will take the pains of imparting your news to those who well merit it; for no relation or kind friend can more desire to hear good tidings of you. And now, after commending the bearer to you, he can testify how little leisure there has been to write or despatch anything during these troubles: you have had a taste of such, but they had been far worse here if God had not been pleased to interpose his hand, to whom, after having kissed yours, I will pray that He will give you, my cousin, your mistress,[1] with all the contentment you can desire.

Your very good cousin,

MARIE.[m]

[Endorsed,
To my cousin, M. le Duc de Nemours.]

[1] The Duchess of Guise, the widow of her uncle, the great Francis Duke of Guise, surnamed le Balafré. Her name was Anne d'Esté. Nemours was then courting her. After their marriage, Mary sometimes addresses him as *mon oncle*, though the Duchess of Guise was but her uncle's widow.

[m] Bethune MS. No. 9126, fol. 7. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

The Queen of Scots to the King of France, Charles IX.

Oct. 16, 1566.

Monsieur my good brother, in despatching this courier on some of my affairs, I would not willingly fail of recommending myself to your good grace, and by the same way to testify the obligation in which I feel myself beholden to you for the care that it has pleased you to have of all that regards me. I will not fail to have you informed when anything happens worth mentioning through Monsieur du Croc; and I will myself inform you of all that may befal, since in a little time there will be no cause that I should importune you any more, save to recommend myself to you with a very good heart, and praying God that he will give you, monsieur my good brother, in health long and happy life. At Jeddart, this 16th of October.

Your very good sister,

MARIE.[n]

n From the autograph collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh, No. 28. This letter was written the very day before she fell ill of the autumnal fever at Jedburgh, which had nearly been fatal to her.

The Queen of Scots to the Lords of Queen Elizabeth's Council.[o]

Right trusty and well beloved cousins,[p] we greet you well. Whereas we have understood by the report of our familiar servitor, Robert Melville, the good offers made in our behoof by the queen our good sister, your sovereign, we think ourself obliged to do to her whatsoever a good sister and tender cousin ought, where she

[o] MS. Cotton, Caligula, b. x., fol. 388. See Ellis's Original Letters, vol. ii., p. 227, for the document in the original orthography.

[p] The succession to the crown of England was beset with great difficulties when the lineal heiress, Mary, Queen of Scotland, was married to the young King of France, Francis II.; and there was a natural expectation of a numerous family from this young pair; for even if the sensible plan of entailing the united island crowns on a younger child of Mary and Francis had been adopted, it is very improbable that the English prejudice could have been surmounted sufficiently for any loyal allegiance to have been shown to a Gallican-Scottish prince. These clouds and mists which hung over the future were cleared up, by the changing course of human events, in an incredibly short time; in less than seven years Mary had lost the French king, without having issue by him, and married a prince who was an Englishman born, and next to herself in succession to the English throne. In due time she was the mother of a healthy thriving boy, whose recognition as heir to Elizabeth she requested in the following document, sent just after a warm debate in the English Parliament to urge their queen to name her successor. This letter was addressed by Mary to the lords of the council, on her recovery from the fever which had been nearly fatal to her at Jedburgh, October 17, 1566. She alludes to this illness in the course of the letter, informing the English ministers, that when she thought herself dying, she had left their queen guardian to her heir. The document is written by a Scotch secretary, and signed by Mary.

finds so great thankfulness; and that we could not declare the affection we bear toward our dearest sister better, *nor* (than) by that which we did when we looked not to have brooked this life twelve hours in our late sickness; at which time our meaning was, that the special care of our son should rest upon our said good sister (Queen Elizabeth).

We believe ye have always been good ministers to move your sovereign to shew her own reasonable favour to our advancement in that which is right, and firmly ye shall so continue. We take ourself (as we doubt not ye know), to be the queen your sovereign's next cousin, and next herself and the lawful issue of her body, to have the greatest interest of all other to that which has been (as is reported) lately *motionated* (moved) in the parliament-house.[q] And albeit we be not of mind to press our good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure to put that matter in question, yet because in that case we will be judged by the laws of the realm of England, we do effectuously require you to have respect to justice with indifference, whensoever it

[q] For Queen Elizabeth to be petitioned to name her successor, which had put that queen in an extreme passion. See her angry letter, MS. Landsdowne, edited by Sir H. Ellis, Original Letters, vol. ii. p. 226.

shall please the queen your sovereign to put the same matter in deliberation. As to us, we will in nowise insist therein until such time as it shall please herself to give us warning. We desire you, in the meantime, to have that opinion of us, that as we mean to continue all our life in good intelligence with the queen your sovereign and realm, so, if any prince were to offend the same, we would withstand him at our utter power; and that we cannot advise our dearest sister to extend her favour towards any that shall *recognize it* (acknowledge it) in a better sort. And so we commit you to the protection of God. At Dunbar, the 18th day of November, 1566.

Your good *cousignace*,[r]

MARIE R.

To the lords of the queen's council.

Monsieur le Croc to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Scottish resident ambassador at Paris.

From December 6 to December 23, 1566.

The queen is at present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city, (Edinburgh.) She is in the hands of physicians, and I do assure

[r] This word is, we verily believe, meant for *cousiness*. It was the well known royal etiquette for the English princes of the blood-royal to address all peers of the realm as their cousins.

you is not at all well; and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow, nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same; still she repeats the words, "I could wish to be dead!" You know very well the injury her majesty hath received is very great, and she can never forget it.

The king her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh, the very day after Captain Hay went away; he remained there but one single night, and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him. He returned to see the queen five or six days ago, and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from this city, which I complied with, and found that things go still worse and worse. I think he intends going away to-morrow; but at all events, I am assured that he is not to be present at the baptism[s] (*of the young prince his son*).

[s] Among the other causes of Darnley's misfortunes, he vibrated between two opinions. Like his mother the Countess of Lennox, he was a Roman Catholic, which was one of the chief reasons why Mary was anxious to marry him. When, however, he was ambitious of reigning, and set up a political opposition to the queen his wife, he tampered with the Calvinists, of whom his father had been the political leader since the days of Henry VIII. It is not very easy for a Roman Catholic to disguise his religion; and Darnley, though he had abstained from his own religious worship enough to offend his wife, was vehemently suspected by the Calvinists of hating them in his heart, for which reason several of that party conspired against his life.

To speak my mind freely to you, (but I beg you not to repeat it to my prejudice), I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them, unless God especially put his hand in it. I shall only name two reasons against it: the first is, the king (Darnley) will never humble himself as he ought; the other, that the queen cannot perceive him speaking with any nobleman, but presently she suspects some plot among them. Meantime, the queen reckons to be going to Stirling five or six days hence, and the baptism is appointed to be there on the 12th of this month.

The baptism of the prince took place Tuesday last here at Stirling, when he got the name of Charles James; it was the queen's pleasure that he should bear the name of James, together with that of Charles (the king of France's name), because, she said all the good kings of Scotland, his predecessors, who have been closely allied with the crown of France, were called by the name of James. Every thing, I assure you, was done at the baptism according to the form of the holy Roman Catholic church. The king (Lord Darnley), had still given out that he would depart two days before the baptism,[1] but when the time came

[1] Probably for fear of outraging the religious principles of his father's party; the only result was, that he was distrusted by both.

on he made no sign of removing at all, only he still kept close in his own apartment.

The very day of the baptism he sent three several times, desiring me either to come to see him, or to appoint him an hour that he might come to me in my lodging (lodging-rooms in the castle;) so I found myself obliged to signify to him, that seeing he was in no good correspondence with the queen, I had it in charge from the most christian king of France my master, to hold no conference with him, and I sent to tell him, likewise, that as it would not be very proper for him to come to my apartments, because there was such a crowd of company there, so he ought to be aware there were two passages to it, and if he should enter by the one, I should feel myself compelled to go out at the other.

His bad deportment is incurable,* nor can there be any good expected from him, for several reasons which I might tell you were I present with you. I cannot pretend to tell how it may all turn out, but I will say, that matters cannot subsist long as they are without being accompanied by many bad results.

The queen behaved admirably well at the time of the baptism, and shewed so much earnestness

* Darnley's bad habit of drinking must be alluded to here.

to entertain all the good company in the best manner, that in the meantime she forgot all her indisposition. I am, however, of opinion that she will give us some anxiety yet; I cannot be brought to think otherwise, so long as she continues so pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday; I found her laid on her bed and weeping sore. She complained of a grievous pain in her side, and, from a concurrence of evils, it chanced that the day her majesty set out from Edinburgh to this place she hurt one of her breasts on the horse, which she told me is now swelled. I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with. From Stirling, this 23 of December, 1566.

Monsieur de Croc[x] *to Catherine de Medicis, Queen of France.*

May 16, 1567.

Madame,—The letters that I have written to your majesty, by the bishop of Dumblane, are merely delusive,[y] you can suppose that I did not entrust to him what I would write to you. Your majesties cannot do better than to make

[x] He was an aged French nobleman, ambassador from France to Scotland. This letter is in the Collections de Harlay, No. 218, at Paris.

[y] Sont pour être *leues*, which seems derived from an old verb, *leurrer*, to decoy, lure, or trepan—a hawking term.

him very bad cheer, and find all amiss in this marriage, for it is very wretched, and it is already repented of. On Friday, her majesty (Queen Mary) sent to seek for me; when I came, I perceived an estranged demeanour between her and her husband; for this she wished me to excuse her, saying "that if I saw her sad, it was because she could not rejoice, for she did nothing but wish for death." (*This was on the day of her wedding with Bothwell, that marriage which general history affirms she desired so much.*)

Yesterday, being shut up in her cabinet with Bothwell, she screamed aloud, and then sought for a knife to stab herself;[1] those who were in the chamber adjoining the cabinet heard her. They think that if God does not aid her, she will become desperate. I have counselled and comforted her the best I could, these three times I have seen her.

Her husband will not remain so long, for he is too much hated in this realm, as he is always considered guilty of the death of the king. There is here, besides the Earl of Bothwell, but one noble of note, this is the Earl of Crawford: the others are sent for, but will not come.

She has summoned them to meet, in a place

[1] Sir James Melville, in his Memoirs, relates the same fact.

she has named: if they convene, I am to speak to them in the name of the king (of France), and see if I can do aught with them; after saying all that it is possible for me to say, it will be better to withdraw myself, and as I have sent word to you, leave them to play out their game. It is not fitting that I sit there among them (the Scotch lords) in the name of the king (of France). For if I lean to the queen, they will think in this realm, and in England, that my king has a hand in all that is done; while if it had not been for the express commands your majesty laid on me, I had departed hence eight days before this marriage took place. If I have spoken in a very high tone, it is that all this realm may be aware, that I will neither mix myself up with these nuptials, nor will I recognize *him* (Bothwell) as husband of the queen. I believe he will write to you by the Bishop of Dumblane;[a] you ought not to answer him.

I remain, your majesty, &c.

[a] The Bishop of Dumblane was the ambassador sent by Bothwell to announce to the queen-mother and Charles 9th, his nuptials with Queen Mary.

Queen Elizabeth to the Queen of Scotland.[b]

June 31, 1567.

Madame,—Our perplexity is such, both for your trouble and for the occasions thereof, that we cannot find the old way which we were accustomed to walk in, by writing to you with our own hand. And yet therein we mean not you should conceive on our part any lack of our old friendship; wherefore we have sent this bearer, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, that he understand truly your state, and thereupon to impart to you our meaning at fuller length than we could to your own faithful servant, Robert *Melvyn* (Melville), who, though he did (as we believe, according to the charge given him), use much earnest speech to move us to think well and allow of your doings, yet such is both the general report of you to the contrary, and the *evidency* of sundry of your acts since the death of your late husband, as we could not by him be satisfied to our desire; wherefore we require you

[b] The original is in Secretary Sir William Cecil's hand. The orthography has been here modernised from the Cottonian Collection. The letter is cold, cruel, and prudish, like all of Elizabeth's letters to Mary distilled through Cecil's pen; the cordial mention of the excellent Sir Robert Melville (brother to the statesman-historian, Sir James Melville, both patterns of fidelity to Mary), is the only humane trait in this epistle, which must have reached Mary in her Lochleven prison, and could not have greatly cheered her wretched sojourn there.

to give to this bearer firm credit in all things, as you would give ourselves; and so we end. From our house at Rychmont (Richmond), the last day of June, 1567, the ix. year of our reign.

ELIZABETH R.

Queen Elizabeth to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, her Ambassador in Scotland.

July 14, 1567.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Though we think that causes (cases) will often change upon variety of accidents, yet *this* (the following) we think for sundry respects not amiss. That as you shall deal with the lords having charge of the young prince (the infant James, son of Queen Mary), for the committing of him unto our realm, so you shall do well, in treaty with the queen, to offer her that, where (as) her realm appeareth to be subject to sundry troubles from time to time, and thereby (as is manifest) her son cannot be free from peril, if she will be contented her son may enjoy surety and quietness within this our realm; being so near, as she knoweth it is, we shall not fail but yield to her as good safety therein for her son as can be devised for any that might be *our child, born of our own body,* and shall be glad to shew to her therein the true effect of natural friendship. And

herein she may be by you remembered how *much good may ensue to her son*[c] to be so nourished and acquainted with our realm.

Therefore, all things considered, this occasion (opportunity) for her son rather ought to be sought by her and the friends of him, than offered by us; and to this end, we mean that you shall so deal with her, both to stay her in act from inclining to the French practice, which (as is well known to us), is to convey the prince into France, and also to avoid any just offence that she might hereafter conceive, if she should hear that we should deal (treat) with the lords for the prince.

(Signed,) ELIZABETH R.[d]

July 14, 1567.

[c] This is a plain hint of the probability of the English succession falling to James, not only by his hereditary right, but as the son of Elizabeth's adoption, according to the offer in the preceding sentence. This document is modernised in orthography from the original in the Cottonian Collection.

[d] This treaty for Mary's consent to deliver her son into the hands of Elizabeth was one of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's mysterious commissions to her, then incarcerated in her Lochleven prison. It is certain that she listened not for a moment to a proposal which, according to her ideas, would have compromised the religious principles in which she assuredly meant her child to be reared.

Queen Elizabeth of England to the Queen of France.[c]

Oct. 16, 1567.

Having learned by your letter, madame, of which Monsieur Pasquier is the bearer, your honourable intention, and that of the king, my brother, on the part of my desolate cousin, the Queen of Scots, I rejoice me very much to see that one prince takes to heart the wrongs done to another, having a hatred to that metamorphosis, where the head is removed to the foot, and the heels hold the highest place. I promise you, madame, that even if my consanguinity did not constrain me to wish her all honour, her example would seem too terrible for neighbours to behold, and for all princes to hear. These evils often resemble the noxious influence of some baleful planet, which, commencing in one place, without the good power, might well fall in another, not that (God be thanked) I have any doubts on my part, wishing that neither the king my good brother, nor any other prince had more cause to chastise their bad subjects, than I have to avenge myself on mine, which are always as faithful to me as I could desire; notwithstanding which I never

[c] From his imperial majesty the Emperor of Russia's MS. collection of autograph letters, in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh, No. 3.

fail to condole with those princes who have cause to be angry. Even those troubles that formerly began with the king have vexed me before now.

Monsieur Pasquier (as I believe) thinks I have no French, by the passions of laughter into which he throws me, by the formal precision with which he speaks, and expresses himself.

Beseeching you, madame, if I can at this time do you any pleasure, that you will let me know, that I may acquit myself as a good friend on your part. In the meantime, I cannot cease to pray the Creator to guard the king and yourself from your bad subjects, and to have you always in his holy care.

In haste, at Hampton Court, this 16th of October (1567).

Your good sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH.

The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis, queen-mother of France.[1]

1567 or 8.

Madame,—I write to you at the same time that I write to the king your son, by the same bearer. I beseech you both to have pity upon me.

I am now fully convinced that it is by force

[1] Mémoires de Castelnau, (additions by Le Laboureur.)

alone I can be delivered. If you send never so few troops to countenance the matter, I am certain great numbers of my subjects will rise to join them; but without that they are over awed by the power of the rebels, and dare attempt nothing of themselves.

The miseries I endure are more than I once believed it was in the power of human sufferance to sustain, and live. Give credit to this messenger,[g] who can tell you all; I have no opportunity to write but while my jailers are at dinner.

Have compassion, I conjure you, on my wretched condition, and may God pour on you all the blessings you can wish. I am,

Your ever dutiful, though most wretched and afflicted daughter,

M. R.

From my prison, to Madame, the Queen of France, my mother-in-law.

The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis, queen-mother of France.[h]

1568.

Madame,—I received the letter with which you were pleased to comfort me in my miserable con-

[g] Who, by her letter in this series to Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, appears to have been James Beaton, the gallant gentleman who finally assisted in her escape.

[h] These two letters are from the papers of Mauvissière, Sieur de Castelnau, long ambassador from France to Scotland or England,

dition; the bearer of it was cast into prison, where he still continues; judge by that the barbarity of my cruel jailors. I most humbly thank you for the promise you make me, of aiding me in this distress. My wretched state puts it out of my power to offer you any thing in return but my good wishes, but those you have always had.

I have had the utmost difficulty to dispatch this messenger to acquaint you with the reality of my misfortunes, and humbly to beseech that you will take compassion on me.

I trust in God that the report which my enemies are perpetually persecuting me with is fabulous—that one of the articles of the treaty of peace your son the king has made with his rebellious subjects is, that he shall forsake my interests, and that the Prince of Condé and the Admiral (Coligni) will come to agreement on no other terms. I cannot give credit to tidings so terrible to me, without flinging myself into the utmost despair.

Next to heaven, I rely entirely on you, and hope you will not abandon me in this my dreadful calamity.

and said to have been much interested in Mary, Queen of Scots. He was so good and honest a man, that this fact is to her honour. These letters are edited by Le Laboureur, the industrious French historian of the sixteenth century.

After God, I rely entirely on you, and hope you will not abandon me. Believe what this bearer will inform you as if myself were speaking; for I have no time to write more, but only pray to God to keep you in his holy protection, safe from the misery which treason brings, which is the portion at present of your unhappy, but

Ever obedient daughter,

M. R.

Superscribed to Madame the Queen of France, my mother-in-law, from my prison,[1] the last day of March.

[1] At Loch-leven. When the unfortunate Mary, in hopes of escaping from Bothwell, surrendered herself at Musselburgh to the forces of Morton, and Bothwell fled, she only exchanged a tyrant whose selfish interest it was to preserve her for tyrants whose interest it was to destroy her. They led her in triumph through Edinburgh on horseback, where she appeared so covered with dust and tears, that her features were not discernible. On pretence that the mob had plundered Holyrood, they took her to the Kirk-at-field, and shut her up in the house where her husband's corpse had been carried after his murder, and had laid till his burial. All the way they carried before her two standards, on one of which was painted the corpse of her husband murdered, on the other, the figure of her infant on his knees, holding his little hands together, and crying to heaven for vengeance. If she had been a guilty woman, she must have gone mad that night, shut up by herself in this frightful place, without any of her maids or ladies near her. The next morning, Morton's party set her on an ugly sorry horse they caught by chance in the fields, and hurried her to the castle of Loch-leven, which was at that time occupied by the mother of the Earl of Murray, who had concealed her shame as the mistress of Queen Mary's father, James V., by marriage with the Lord of Loch-leven, of the house of Douglas. It is by no means improbable, that King James

The Regent Murray, (signing himself James Stuart,) to the Queen-mother of France.[k]

April 20, 1568.

Madame,—I have sent this bearer to the king, to signify to his majesty of the state and prosperity of the king, my sovereign lord, who is in good health, thanks to God, and of as good and hopeful promise, for his age, as any young prince was ever known to be.

I have, by the same opportunity, recommended to his majesty (the King of France) the state of this kingdom in the minority of my sovereign,

had deceived this lady under promise of marriage, for that king long celebrated the birthday of her son as if he had been his heir: hence all the woes of his poor sister.

Lady Douglas treated the captive queen with the utmost indignity, telling her she was but a mock queen, and that she had usurped the crown from the Earl of Murray, who, she said, was in reality the right heir, boasting that she was the lawful wife of James the Fifth.

Morton, and the rest of the conspirators, had chosen Loch-leven Castle as the queen's prison, because it was situated in the midst of a lake six miles in circumference, so that no one could visit her without their privity. They refused admittance to the French ambassador, knowing that the unfortunate queen's chief hope of deliverance would come from the royal family of France. In this prison she was forced, by threats, and even personal violence, to abdicate her crown to her son. Some account of her attempted escape from Loch-leven, and final success, are given in the Appendix, vol. ii. This little detail is meant to throw a more lively interest on this curious series of supplicatory letters written by the poor queen from Loch-leven.

[k] Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh, No. 3.

not doubting that his majesty will have care of his affairs during that time, as I hope that he will one day taste the fruits of his kindness to his own satisfaction, being assured that it will be pleasing to your majesty to assist and take him (the young King of Scotland) by the hand in every thing that can serve to cement and increase the ancient and indissoluble bonds of amity between these two nations, as I have charged this bearer to declare more fully to your majesty by word of mouth. I entreat you to give him the same credence as you would to myself, if I were in his place. After presenting my most humble recommendations to your good grace, I pray the Creator, madame, to give you, in perfect health, very happy and very long life.

From Glasgow, the 20th of April, 1568, from your majesty's most humble and most affectionate servant,

JAMES STUART.

Letter from the Regent Murray (in which he signs himself James Stuart) to the King of France.[1]

April 21, 1568.

Sire,—I have not been either negligent nor unmindful of the duty of the tie which binds me to the person of the king, my sovereign, which has

[1] Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh, No 2.

kept me so long a time from communicating to your majesty the order of his affairs, since the departure of Monsieur de Lignerolles. I would not willingly forget the ancient amity which has been continued in all times by the most Christian kings, your predecessors, to the kings and subjects of this realm; but knowing the serious troubles that had befallen your majesty, and recommending . . . . .[m] too soon after, I considered that you would not have leisure to attend so well to my doings concerning all that as in the time of peace; added to which, the passages (means of communication) have been so bad and difficult, that I have omitted it till the present, when it has pleased God to compose and restore your majesty's affairs to some degree of repose and tranquillity; of which being informed, I have with all haste despatched this bearer, to signify to your majesty the state and prosperity of the king, my sovereign, hoping that your majesty will in time be contented with his deportment on your side, and glad of any thing which could tend to his good and advancement. And on my part, in the meantime, I have much wished, by the same means, to make offer to your majesty of my very humble service; as this gentleman of mine, the bearer of

[m] Here a hiatus occurs in the MS., which renders the sense incomplete.

this present, will declare to you more fully by word of mouth, to whom I entreat you to give credit as to myself, if I were in his place; and I shall pray God, sire, to give your majesty, in prosperity and health, very happy and very long life. From your majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

JAMES STUART.

Letter of the Lord Fleming to the King of France.[n]

April 24, 1568.

Sire, — I have been lately summoned and required by the regent of this kingdom to surrender, and put into his hands the castle and place of Dumbarton; menacing me if I fail to do this, that he will besiege it and take it by force. Nevertheless, for the great zeal and affection that I have for the service of your majesty, and for that of the queen, my lady your good sister and my sovereign, which will never diminish come what will, I have reflected and resolved to keep and defend it (*God aiding*) *to my utmost power.* But it is necessary to have succours of men, and munitions (of war). For this cause, sire, I

[n] From the Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh, No. 4. Lord Fleming was one of the leaders of Queen Mary's party.

have despatched this bearer express to your majesty, to give you this information, and to supplicate, as I do very humbly, that your majesty will be pleased in this necessity, and for the love of that sovereign queen (who is still in the state which has been made known to you) to succour and aid me with a few of your forces of men, as well as the munitions of war; of which I have sent a memorial by the bearer, that we may have them as soon as possible, while your majesty shall arrange some plan for the liberation of the queen my sovereign.

In the meantime, sire, I promise and assure your majesty, that I will keep and defend this place faithfully and well to the last extremity, and till it may please your majesty to let me understand your good will and pleasure, that I may await a good declaration.

For the rest, sire, this bearer will give a very full account to your majesty of the state in which he has found the affairs and occurrences in this kingdom now, as I have commanded him. I entreat you very humbly, sire, to do him the honour of believing him, as if it were myself.

I pray God, as I do all my life, to give you, sire, in perfect health, very long and very happy life.

From Dunbarton, this 24th day of April, 1568.

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

FLEMYNG.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

(From the abbey of Dundrenan, near Kircudbright. With this letter was forwarded a diamond, in the form of a heart, which Elizabeth had formerly sent to Mary as a pledge of her amity and good-will.*)

You are not ignorant, my dearest sister, of great part of my misfortunes, but these which induce me to write at present, have happened too recently yet to have reached your ear. I must therefore acquaint you briefly as I can, that some of my subjects whom I most confided in, and had raised to the highest pitch of honour, have taken up arms against me, and treated me with the utmost indignity.

By unexpected means, the Almighty Disposer of all things delivered me from the cruel imprisonment I underwent; but I have since lost a

* Buchanan wrote a scoffing epigram on this diamond and letter, but does not mention them in his history, for his object was to conceal all the previous friendly intercourse between Queen Elizabeth and her victim. This letter and anecdote are drawn from the Life of Mary, Queen of Scotland, printed at London, 1735.

battle,[p] in which most of those who preserved their loyal integrity fell before my eyes.[q]

I am now forced out of my kingdom, and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness. I beseech you, therefore, my dearest sister, that I may be conducted to your presence, that I may acquaint you with all my affairs.

In the meantime, I beseech God to grant you all heavenly benedictions, and to me patience and consolation, which last I hope and pray to obtain by your means.

To remind you of the reasons I have to depend on England, I send back to its queen this token (the jewel) of her promised friendship and assistance.

Your affectionate sister,

M. R.[r]

From Dundrenan.

[p] Langside.

[q] Forty-seven gentlemen of the gallant house of Hamilton were killed in battle, *ibid.*

[r] This letter was sent Elizabeth by Mary's faithful adherent, James Beaton, who had successfully braved every danger for her sake, both in the previous conveyance of her letters to France, and by aiding her escape from Loch-leven and Langside. Camden has a curtailed edition of it; but the whole is in the Mauvissière, or Castelnau Collection.

The Queen-mother of France, Catherine de Medicis, to Queen Elizabeth.[s]

May, 1568.

Madame my good sister, as soon as the king, my son and I learned to what state the Queen of Scotland, my daughter-in-law, was at present reduced, and how she had been compelled to retire for refuge into your realm, being pursued by her subjects, as you have perhaps understood, we incontinently despatched the Sieur de Montmorin to express to you in fair words, that being much grieved to see her in this trouble and affliction, it has been a great satisfaction to us that she should have gone and surrendered herself into your hands. We are assured that she will receive all the assistance, favour, succour and friendship that an afflicted princess like her ought to have from you, and that you will remain in the same opinion in which you have been, which is, "that princes are bound to assist one another to chastise and punish the subjects who rise up against them, and are rebellious to their sovereigns." And inasmuch as this touches us to the heart, we ought to be ready to take part for the protection of "this desolate and afflicted queen,"[t] that she may

[s] From the original MS. Cotton. Calig. c. i., fol. 74.

[t] Here Catherine de Medicis adroitly quotes again the words of Elizabeth's own letter to her.

be restored to her liberty and the authority given to her by God, which in right and equity pertains to her and not to another.

I beseech you, madame my good sister, that you would make manifest to every one, especially to the king, my lord and son, how much you desire the authority of sovereign princes to be preserved, and their rebellious and disobedient subjects to be chastised and punished. Above all, that you will use her (the Queen of Scots) with that good and tender treatment that you have promised us, and which we hope from you, and that you will benignantly vouchsafe to her all the aid, favour, and service which she will require for the restoration of her liberty, and the authority that appertains to her.

It is thus that we have commanded and given express charge to Monsieur de Montmorin to say to you more at length, and particularly on our part; the which I pray you to believe, as you would do if it were in my own person.

Beseeching the Creator, madame my sister, after I have presented my affectionate commendations to your good grace, to give you, in very good health, long life.

Written at Paris, the 26th day of May, 1568.

Postcript, in the Queen-mother's own hand.[u]

Madame my good sister, I will write you one word to pray you to put me at ease, and to excuse the present from my hand, for I am still feeble from my sickness; but on this occasion I should desire not only to write to you myself, but to see you in person. Not that I doubt your goodness; having no other fear than this, that you will not remember sufficiently that you have often been unjust towards this queen, my daughter-in-law, and how this is a case that touches all princes, and especially a princess who has made me the assurances that you have done, "that, as much as lies in your power, you will make perfect in deeds that which you have shewn to her (the Queen of Scots) in words," which makes me say that she is very happy to be in your kingdom.

Your good sister and cousin.

The Queen of Scots to the Queen (mother) of France.[x]

May, 1568.

Madame,—My fortunes are enough known to you, and to me they continue the same. The obligation that I have to serve you all my life

[u] The letter itself is written by a secretary, and without signature.

[x] The original is one of the collection in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburgh.

(as my will is very much inclined) my cousin M. de Fleming (Lord Fleming) the present bearer, can testify to you when I shall leave[y] ..... all that otherwise it might be an inconvenience to you to read. You are entreated to believe him, as he has always followed me, which makes it apparent ..... the king, your son and yourself, have had proof of his fidelity.

I present my very humble commendations to your good grace, praying God that he will keep you, madame, in health, and very happy and long life.

Your humble and very obedient daughter,

MARIE.

From Carlisle, this 28th of May.

The Queen of Scots to Charles IX., King of France.[z]

June 26, 1568.

Monsieur, my good brother, — Seeing that, contrary to my hopes, the injustice of this queen, or, at least of her council, is preparing for me a much longer sojourn here, than I could wish (if it does not please you to provide a remedy), as you will see by the reports of the Sieur de Montmorin;[a] and that I fear to be more strictly guarded for the future, I take this way of informing you of the state, present and past,

[y] Where the hiatuses occur, the original MS. has been torn off.

[z] From the Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh, No. 37.

[a] The French ambassador to the Court of Scotland.

both of my country and myself, for the last three months. And seeing that Lord Fleming, whom I sent for that purpose, has not been able to obtain leave to pass beyond London, I have despatched Douglas, the present bearer, to make you a full report of all that has happened, and to tell you about my prison[b], my escape and my retreat into this realm, with all that I can understand has been done lately in my own country. I particularly beg you to give him the same credit as you would to me, for he has proved himself my faithful servant, having delivered me from the hands of my mortal foes, at the peril of his life, and the sacrifice of his nearest ties of kindred. He desires, to the end, that he may continue to render me service, as he has begun to do, that he may remain for a time in your court, to wait for the assistance that may be provided for me. I entreat you to give him such entertainment as may make it manifest, that he has rendered a service to you in saving my life. I will answer for his fidelity. He requires now to seek for his living in France, for he has left all he had in Scotland. If I am not altogether immured, I yet fear that I shall not receive so much favour here, but that I shall be constrained to send others to you for the same purpose (*i. e.*

[b] At Loch-leven, where she was in the custody of Douglas's mother.

to be rewarded), but not one who has performed for me such good and important service.

I would also entreat to recommend Beaton to you, for he has preserved his integrity when he was canvassed by the other party to become one of them. Likewise the poor Lord Seaton, whose life they threatened to take away for the same conduct, nor would they have done less, if Montmorin had not been on his side. Also my Lord de Fleming, who is so well instructed, that if he can get leave to depart, I would recommend him especially. He is one of your old servants, and can briefly tell you as much as I could write.

With my humble commendations to your good grace, beseeching God to give you, monsieur my good brother, in health long and happy life.

Your good sister,

MARIE.

From Carlisle the 26th of June.

The Lords of Scotland to the Queen-mother of France.[c]

Supposed about August 24, 1568.

Madame,—It is a thing not unknown to your majesty how our queen, your majesty's daughter-in-law) has been unjustly confined at the Lake of

[c] From the Porte-feuille of Petro Dubrowski. Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh.

Leven for the space of eleven months, and how, after God of his grace had delivered her, the same traitors who had incarcerated her majesty assailed, in combination, some of her nobles, as she would have retreated to one of her own fortresses, named Dumbarton, where one part of her company was put to the rout, some slain, and others taken, who are still detained captive; and as to her majesty, she being by this opposition prevented from gaining the castle, retreated into England, where her majesty hoped at least to obtain the favour of being permitted to pass into France, to go and seek the succour of the very Christian King of France, your majesty's son, but in this her majesty has not succeeded according to her expectation.

It is not, madame, a new thing to see the realm of Scotland succoured by the crown of France, nor yet that the Scotch have been at all times good Frenchmen. The ancient line and history render testimony to this.

And now, madame, the cause of supplication in this great necessity is such, that succour ought to be granted more than ever; for our queen is not only to be considered as your friend, but your majesty's daughter, of your own educating, both as a queen and a woman.

And foreseeing, madame, that there is not a

nation but will make the same attempt, if there is so little danger in the experiments of rebellious and ambitious subjects, we suggest that it is the duty of all princes to succour her (the Queen of Scots), because so doing will be not only a thing pleasing to God, but will assist to repress and punish the ambition, temerity, and treasons of their own subjects, by striking terror into as many of them as shew the same faults. Therefore, we very humbly supplicate your majesty to weigh the wickedness of the rebellion of her subjects, together with *the detention of her majesty in England,* and to assist in obtaining the deliverance of her majesty out of England, and to succour and aid her, through your favour, with the troops of the most Christian king, your son, to subdue and chastise the arrogance and rebellion of an Earl of Murray, and a pack of traitors, his accomplices. In doing which your majesty will render the queen, our sovereign, the greatest obligation; and also we, the nobles of Scotland, will always be ready to make prayers for your majesty, both now and for the time to come.

We pray the Eternal, madame, to give you in health a long and happy life.

Your very humble and very obedient servants.

The principal Lords in Scotland on the Queen's side to the King of France.[d]

August 24, 1568.

The present will be only to bring to your memory the letters that we have written by the Lord de Beaumont, ambassador and chevalier of your majesty's order (of the Holy Ghost), together with our last letters to the city of Largis, of the 28th of last July, in which we have supplicated your majesty to obtain the liberation of the queen our sovereign, and stated our pressing need of your aid and succour, and how much already, for this very long time *we have required succour of your majesty.* And that *the queen* has been detained captive in England (*there*, where she had thought to find a passage to come to your majesty), on this we have not had to our great regret, any answer.

And, forasmuch, as during the absence of her majesty, we have had to this day other injuries from those who have detained her majesty prisoner, and are still trying to usurp her

[d] From the Porte-feuille of Petro Dubrowski in his Imperial Majesty's Library, St. Petersburgh.

regal authority. In consequence of which we supplicate, very humbly, your majesty to obtain that the queen our sovereign, may be replaced free in her realm of Scotland, for we are assured that her liberty will not be refused to your majesty, if you once make it appear that you are annoyed at her detention.

Moreover, we supplicate, very humbly, for your majesty to succour us with men, money and munitions for the re-establishment of the queen our sovereign, to her pristine authority of which she has been despoiled by a pack of wicked and ambitious traitors.

We doubt not that your majesty will accede to our just desires, from the consideration of the ancient amity that has been entwined for so many years between these two kingdoms, and so we hope that it will be agreeable to your majesty, that we are by necessity constrained to seek friendly aid of you rather than elsewhere, for the re-establishment of the queen our sovereign, and for us to redress the injuries that we have had from a pack of traitors.

Wherefore we pray of your majesty, without more delay, to send us a final answer, to the end that we may know by it what we may venture to hope from your majesty.

And after we have presented our very humble

request to your majesty, we pray God to give to your majesty in health, a life, happy and long.

At Dumbarton, this 24th of August, 1568.

Your very humble and very obedient servants,

ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREW'S; EGLYNTOUN; HUNTLY; ARGYLL; CASSILLIS; ERLL OF CRAUFURD; JO. ROSS; CLAUD HAMILTON; FLEMING; A. BOYD; SANQUHAR; LORD OGILVY; HERRYS; ROSS; — OLIPHANT; MAXWELL; BOYD; CAMBEL.

Secret Memorial of M. de la Vergne to the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis (written in cypher), and sent in the despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, ambassador to the Court of England.[c]

January 30, 1569.

More than wonted rigour has been shewn since the last few days, to the Queen of Scotland: it is to compel her to renounce her crown; and they have threatened her, if she makes any difficulty, that she shall go where it has been ordained to remove her, (which in truth grieves her very much), that they will lift her up, she and only one other woman with her, in their bed, and carry them by force in a litter close shut up with a lock and key. On which she has sent to the Sieur de la Mothe for him to make a remonstrance, which he will do the first time he can see this queen (Elizabeth); also for him to tell the deputies of the

[c] Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. p. 169. The Queen of Scots was then at Bolton Castle.

said Queen of Scotland, that although they ought not to hope for any good on this side for her, still she will be treated worse if there is a rupture between the two kingdoms. Some here have doubts whether they will remove her, unless there should be an insurrection in the quarter where she now is.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

February 10, 1569.

Madame my good sister, I have understood, by the Bishop of Ross and my Lord Herries, the good affection with which you have proceeded with them in all my affairs, a thing no less comfortable than was hoped of your good nature. I have especially learned, by them, that it was your good pleasure that I was treated with the honourable respect and courteous entertainment that I have received, since my arrival at Bolton, from Master Knollys and my Lord Scrope, of which I cannot do less than to testify to you of the diligence and great affection with which they have accomplished your commands, and the cause that I had to praise their civil deportment towards me till my removal, the manner of which I cannot conceal appeared hard to me. On this, however, not desiring to

[1] Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. p. 206.

trouble you, I will be silent; but you said that it would please you, at the said Bolton, to grant me not only a certain number of servants, by whom, at your pleasure, I was to be constantly served, but also some others, who could, with the passports of the warden and commission from those who have been put in charge of me, go and come from Scotland, to me, or to you, when I should have anything to represent to you. These licences from you, of new permissions to my said commissaries in my favour, I have explained to my lord the Earl of Shrewsbury and Master Knollys, who say "that they have no such commission from you," and they have refused to let me send any one to you, till such time as I can shew them a letter from you, making mention of some resolution requisite on the points proposed by my commissaries, whom they have commanded to depart without delay, according to their passports, with the declaration that they shall not have any access to me for the future, without your express command. On which I have prayed Master Knollys to make you a remonstrance on this and other little necessities, together with a declaration of my good-will towards you, with which I have sent this bearer to repeat to me your good pleasure, when you shall have seen and understood the things required by

me in a memorial addressed by me to my lord the Earl of Leicester and Master Cecil, entreating you that by him you would make your good pleasure on all these points understood by me, and command my lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury, what it may please you for him to do about it; and because Master Knollys has promised me that you shall see my memorial and request, addressed to your said two councillors, I will not importune you for the present with my particulars which I have set forth in the memorial, and the report of Master Knollys.

As to that which you were pleased to hint in your letter, that it was deemed strange that my commissioners have not entered into specialities, after having understood their reasons, I have advised with them that those who should return into Scotland, should propose to the rest of my council and nobility, to give sufficient commission for conferring without scruple the specialities that we shall think to be the most agreeable to you and to my honour, and the preservation of my dignity; in which neither they nor I could enter without their consent anew, for the things that have happened since, which put in doubt the freedom of my actions, being detained, as they could allege; and I assure you that I desire much to know your good pleasure before I proceed.

I supplicate you much for one thing, which is not to permit any more such shameful and disadvantageous overtures to be placed before me, as those which the Bishop of Ross has been counselled to lend his ear. For, as I have prayed Master Knollys to testify to you, I have made a solemn vow to God never to surrender that place to which he has called me, as long as I feel within me the powers needful to sustain it; and, thanks to Him, I feel them augmented by the desire of acquitting myself better than before, and better qualified for it withal, by that which time and experience have brought.

I entreat you to believe, that in all other things which affect not my honour and estate (rank), I wish to please you alone; and, if I might dare, I would remind you how much nearer I have approached to you, and that I am ready to come myself and offer more particular conditions than I can do in the place where I am; I would say that this is all my desire.

In the meantime, with the advice of my council, I shall endeavour, on obtaining an answer from you, to do all that is possible to acquire your favour, which I protest I will never voluntarily incur the risk of losing, if I can but once obtain it. As for the other things which touch me, I will put them in a memorial, not to importune

you, only to tell you that, as for the answers that are required, I shall be ready when it shall please you to admit me to your presence, to resolve you, and make apparent the falsity of their calumnies, and my own innocence, the which God will make manifest, as my hope is in Him. In the meantime, I beseech Him to give you, madame, in constant health, good and happy life.

From Tutbury,[s] this 10th of February, 1569.

P.S.—I have come to understand, madame, that my cousin the Duke of Chatelherault, notwithstanding your passport, has been arrested at York. I assure you that he has committed no offence, which makes me supplicate you to consider his necessity, and the long time that he remained beyond the term of his passport at your desire and

[s] To Mary's regret, she was removed from Bolton Castle, January 26, 1568-9. In that inclement season she could not have travelled, if the Bishop of Durham had not lent Sir Francis Knollys sixteen horses. Lady Livingstone was taken ill by the way, and left at Rotherham till she recovered; and at Chesterfield, Mary was seized with her usual pain in her side, which certainly proceeded from an indurated liver; and she complained of a violent pain in her head; therefore, the whole cavalcade was forced to tarry at Mr. Folijamb's house, near Chesterfield, where they were well accommodated. The route of the captive queen lay through Wetherby, Pomfret, and Sheffield, to Tutbury, a castle of Lord Shrewsbury's, on the river Dove, in Staffordshire, destined to be Mary's prison at various epochs of her sad pilgrimage.

command, that he may be permitted to travel onwards.

May it please you to excuse if I write so bad, for this place is not habitable, and the cold has given me the rheumatism and severe pain in the head.

The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis.[h]

February 13.

Madame,—On the return of Henricke, one of my secretaries, by whom I have received the letters which you have been pleased to write to me, I learn the honour that you have done me, in having taken care not only of me, but of all my affairs. I have not failed, according to my duty, to render you my humble thanks for the honour it has pleased you to do, at my request, to George Douglas, my faithful servant, whom I recommend to you again, he having promised me that he will serve the king, and you no less faithfully. As to news, I have none that are worth writing about, in the place where I am; but I pray God that you may have good and happy success in your affairs. Leaving the rest to be told by one of my servants, after I have presented my very humble commendations to

[h] From the Imperial Autograph Collection, St. Petersburgh, No. 29.

your good grace, praying God to give you, madame, in health, long and happy life.

From Tutbury, the 13th of February.

Your very humble and very obedient daughter.

MARIE.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

March 14, 1569.

Madame, my good sister, the honour and natural friendship which I bear to you, makes me fear to importune and press[1] you, or it might appear that I distrusted your goodnature by my complaints, which have been sometimes disagreeable to you. On the other hand, my conscience and natural pity of the blood that is shed of my faithful subjects, compel me to remonstrate with you; and in that sense I am obliged to do it. Wherefore I beseech you, first, to consider the just care that I ought to have of my people, which ought to supersede all worldly and private respects; secondly, the time I have spent in patience, in the hope of your favour; and without taking it as an offence or reproach from me, read my griefs and send me your determination, to learn which I have sent Borthwick, the present

[1] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 283.

[1] The original word is *fouir*, literally, to dig into, or bore any one.

bearer, to you with a copy of some points contained in a proclamation made by my rebels, where they make mention of a sentence by you pronounced on the things in dispute, and by them falsely alleged recently in your presence and that of your council, which points I implore you to consider, and let me know your will by this bearer. The urgency of the case is too important to brook longer delay, without understanding your intentions both on that and this resolution which follows, which is to redress the unjust proceedings of your ministers on the borders, who are at Carlisle; for they capture my servants, seize and open their letters, and then send them to the court—very far from that which has been promised and written to me, who did not understand that I was to have less liberty than before. Very different is the treatment given to my rebels, with whom, I think, I ought never to be put on an equality; for they have been well received in your presence, with liberty to go and come; and have been continually sent supplies of money, and, as they say, which you will be pleased to see by this other letter, assured of the support of men at their need. And thus are they maintained who have endeavoured falsely to accuse and brand me with infamy; while I, who have come to throw myself into your arms as to my most as-

sured friend, am refused the countenance which is given to these offenders. I shall be constrained, to my regret, to seek it elsewhere, if I am not, according to my hope and desire, assisted with promised succour. I have been detained far from my country; and your presence, which is required for my justification, is denied; and at length all means are abridged and cut off of hearing from my subjects, or making them understand my will.

I do not think I have merited such treatment. I have trusted in you, and you have confederated with my subjects and supported them. I have undertaken nothing but what you have advised; neither have I, through your request and promises, sought any other friendship than yours: not only desiring to please you, but to obey you as a daughter would her mother. And it is fresh in memory, that at the return of the traitors, without the information of the Bishop of Ross, if it had not been for the persuasions of Master Knollys, that I should find no good by my party beginning, I might have had them well saluted at their crossing the border, without their being given such good opportunity of levying soldiers for the ruin of my poor people.

In short, I have till now depended on you

alone, and desire to do so still, if you will please to accept my goodwill as the recompence for your amiable comfort, and accord prompt assistance to put an end to the oppression of these rebel subjects of mine; for the fear of whose attempts against my faithful subjects, and my own honour and dignity, I require succour of you; or else I shall be compelled to seek for it where God shall direct me. According to your reply, which I hope will be good, I shall dispose myself.

I have also charged the bearer to learn your determination on that which the Bishop of Ross and my Lord Boyd have done, of which I as yet know little, nor of other certain particulars, in which I entreat you to credit him, and not to take it in ill part, if in things so important I press you more than perhaps, (seeing that I am in your hands), seems to you to the purpose; but I can no longer defer it, nor support unjust treatment, without ruin to my dignity, and offence to my conscience; for as kindred impels me to you, so am I by your unloving treatment repelled. This I entreat of you, not to compel me to hold a different opinion of you than that which till now I have wished to maintain of so near a relative, and of whom I so much desire to be in the good graces, and to whom, presenting my affectionate com-

mendations, I will pray God to give you, madame my good sister, in health, long and happy life.

From Tutbury, this 13th of March, 1569.

The Queen of Scots to the Sieur de la Mothe Fenelon.[k]

March 15, 1569.

Monsieur de la Mothe,—I send again Borthwick,[l] the present bearer, to the Queen of England, madame my good sister, for the causes that he will tell you, and you will see by the copies of my letters. These have detained me so long, that I can do no more at present, than to beg you to continue the good offices that you perform for me, in regard to them, as you know what is required. As to the rest, I should not forget to tell you, that instead of the bad news that lately, a little before the return of the bearer, had been told to me of France, I have sent the good that you have written to me by him, of the 23rd of the last month,[m] to those who had had letters from the court of England quite contrary to the fact, and far different from the good success, which thanks to God, they may

[k] Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 286.

[l] He was her equerry.

[m] The news of the victory of the Duke of Anjou over the Huguenots at Jarnac, which had been previously misrepresented to the captive queen as a defeat of the royalists.

now hope of the affairs of the king, monsieur my good brother.

It is impossible, Monsieur de la Mothe, that I should give you the satisfaction for many reasons that I receive from you. When I hear of anything that is going on at a distance, I am always in doubt till I receive letters from you; for though I do not attach faith to all the rumours and alarms which they give me, I cannot help, meantime, being in pain. I am strictly guarded, as this bearer will tell you, and they stop all who visit me, and all messengers whom they suppose have letters for me, or from me. If, however, I had a cypher in which to write to you, I should not have to put others to so much peril on these occasions, and I suppose, on your part, you might do the same. I have written to the Archbishop of Glasgow, my ambassador, and I beg you to take charge of the packet the bearer will give you, to send by the first opportunity; and in the meantime, Monsieur de la Mothe, I pray God that he will give you that which you desire.

Written at Tutbury, the 15th of March, 1569.

Your very good friend,

MARIE, R.

Queen Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots.[a]

March 31, 1569.

Madame,—Having learned your griefs, and understanding the great annoy which you take about some words contained in the proclamations made on the part of your subjects, which signify that I had given sentence against you, I am much astonished how you could have felt such trouble in thinking them true; for if so be that they have written them (as how I know not), could it enter into your thought that I should have had so little value for my honour, or so much forgotten my natural affection for you, that I had condemned you before I had heard your reply, and that I should have so little regard to order, that I had concluded before I had begun?

You may remember that after I had made known to you in what manner your subjects accused you, I wrote to you that I should await your declaration, and of the order that in this place they would take; and since that time I have hushed up the case, and never meddled with it since, save that I made my Lord Murray and the others oblige themselves, before me and my council, not to annoy your party, till that I should have heard what course you meant to take to bring this cause to some good end.

[a] Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon. vol. i., pp. 344-5-6.

And while waiting, madame, for that resolution, which you have too much, I believe, delayed, a very strange event has happened, and if you are not cognizant of this, I should hold it too great a marvel. It is this, that yesterday John Wood made me a long declaration, how the duke* and the other lords have submitted to your son as to their king, and by an harangue made by my Lord Herries, before all the council had approved of that which has passed touching your imprisonment, as having been wisely determined. The details are very long; and thinking they would weary you too much, I shall lay aside the pen. But in conclusion, they have agreed to some articles, which I send to you as they sent them to me, as in this they have been pleased to perform only the half of that, which in words they had promised to me.

Perhaps, in the end, it is as well that you should not have been left ignorant, either of my actions in your cause, nor of the proceedings of the others in regard to you. I have thought it best to send you word of what I know, and by whom I was informed of it. It is for you to judge of it, as the one it most nearly touches; and although I believe I have the power to prevail with them, I have let them know that I will not be mixed up

* The Duke of Chatelherault, the head of the house of Hamilton.

with a matter of which I understand nothing; and having received the intelligence from one party, I will not judge, but hold myself undecided till I shall have understood to the utmost from you. And having discharged the office of a good kinswoman, and knowing that I have always walked with worthy steps from the beginning to this hour, I thank God, that I have not been left to stumble, much less to fall against you; and with a clear conscience I call on Him to witness, who will be my judge, if I have not gone openly on my way without any feints. However, I entreat you to believe that some things must have been heard, at cross-purposes, which no creature living will ever be able to prove.

As to the other things contained in your letters, your servant will be able to answer you; and by my Lord Shrewsbury you will understand more fully, to whom may it please you to give credence, as to him whom I hope will do as I have commanded; and with this persuasion, I will detain you no longer, but will not cease to pray to the Creator to have you always in his holy keeping.

With my very cordial commendations, &c.

The Queen of Scots to the Sieur de la Mothe Fenelon, (in cypher).[p]

April 15, 1569.

Monsieur de la Mothe,—Since the news of this victory,[q] the Queen of England has changed her style of writing to me, as you will see by the copy of her letter, and would make me believe that this mutation does not proceed from that cause. They would persuade me that she and her council hold this news to be false and controverted; and that, on the contrary, the king has had the worst of it, and that that is the cause why he keeps his ports shut, not wishing that they should know the defeat and loss he has sustained, with other bad appearances, to which I attach about as much faith as I consider due to the fine words they have given me, after learning what the Queen of England said to the Duke of Chatêlherault, when he came to take his leave of her, "that she approved of all the actions of the Earl of Murray and his associates; and that if the said duke, when in Scotland, would not recognise the king, he should neither have aid, support, or favour, through her means; and that she would injure him in every way that was possible for her to do." Although the good man was half out of his

[p] Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 348.

[q] That of Jarnac.

senses;[1] and so, peradventure, he has since condescended against his duty, having been practised upon and gained—or deluded by some vain hope, like as before he had been—or from the fear of seeing his children ruined.

[1] The Duke of Chatelherault was head of the house of Hamilton, and, by act of the Scottish parliament, the second person in Scotland, and heir-presumptive (after Mary's infant son) to the Scottish throne. Lenox and his son Darnley were bitterly envious of this recognition; because, though they were of the house of Stuart, the Hamilton was a degree nearer to the succession. Queen Mary had been extremely beneficent to the Duke of Chatelherault and his sons, Lord David, Lord John, and Lord Claude Hamilton. There was insanity in the family of Hamilton, to which Mary alludes in this letter. In a letter Drury (English envoy to Scotland) writes to Cecil, "the Lord David, son to the duke, is mad; and Arbroath his brother (Lord John) is ill of the same disease." Lord Claude Hamilton, the third son, was a partizan of Queen Mary, and his autograph will be found among the brave men who held out Dunbarton for her. The duke, his father, had rebelled with Murray in 1565, and been pardoned by Mary. His cause of discontent was because Darnley and his father Lenox were intriguing to displace the Hamiltons from the line of succession, and endeavouring to induce Queen Mary and the parliament to declare them (of the Lenox line of Stuart) next heirs to the crown, in case she should die without issue. This the queen would not do; and it was the source of much of Darnley's troublesome perversity. The Duke of Chatelherault contributed his share of annoyance to his tormented queen; but he was at times passionately penitent for his ill conduct. Most of the Hamiltons were her gallant champions, and forty of them fell in her cause at Langside. There was a serious flaw concerning legitimacy in the royal claims of the Hamiltons; and James the Sixth's kinsman, Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox, was by him recognized subsequently as heir-presumptive. The disputes between the Hamiltons and the *cadette* branch of Stuart, for reversionary claims on the succession, contributed not a little to the distractions of Scotland in the 16th century.

I leave it to your judgment how to proceed in this case; for with the authority that I have given him, he has more than three-quarters of my realm, and most of the nobles with him, and might be able to expel the Earl of Murray, and all his adherents and accomplices. This, Monsieur de la Mothe, I will not hide from you, that you may know how I am treated, by the intelligence of my traitors, with the Queen of England, and the need I have of the aid and favour of my friends.[s]

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[t]

Written on Good Friday (so endorsed), April 15, 1569.

Madame,—Inasmuch as the false allegations contained in the proclamations of my rebels, in your last, have given me vexation, although I had not attached much faith to them, as from those whom I had proved too well, so much the greater is the pleasure I take from your amiable declaration to the contrary in your courteous and favourable letter, to which I have not willingly deferred replying so long, as I greatly desire to make apparent to you my natural inclination in all things to seek your good grace. Also wish-

[s] This letter, being in cypher, is without signature.

[t] Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 346.

ing to understand your favourable resolution on all my affairs, of which it has pleased you to give me advice, for which I thank you affectionately; but I cannot inform you, in truth, of my own judgment thereupon, for I promise you, upon my faith, that I have not heard a single word from Scotland since my arrival here, save that which I sent you of the proclamation of my Lord Herries, from which I could not believe he had so much forgotten himself, as it appears by the articles that the Earl of Shrewsbury has shewn to me by your command. Nevertheless, these having been sent, I would much desire to learn the truth, and that with such diligence as the matter requires, if the messenger be not impeded, which I fear, although my lord of Shrewsbury has assured me of his passage. I promise to apprize you of the first certain information I receive by the Bishop of Ross, or others of my faithful servants. In the meantime, I can tell you, that if these things have thus happened, the despair they have at seeing me detained, and all means of communicating with me cut off, will have been the cause. I entreat you to consider this well, and that, *if* you have not commanded it, it is your ministers on the frontiers who have done the mischief; in con-

sideration of which, and of the goodwill that I have had to dedicate myself to your service, as far as my rank and my honour would permit me to do, I beseech you to take a good resolution on this. Lastly, I write to you by this bearer touching my long and earnest request, whatever be the condition of Scotland, to replace me in my dignity by your support and favour, that after God, I may be only obliged to you; for the ties of kindred, blood, friendship, and beneficence, lead me to expect that you will incline to that, and I (or, if it will please you, mine) will be ready to act to your satisfaction.

Otherwise, according to my last letter, you must not impute it to a failure of goodnature, if, not being provided with assistance by my nearest relation, I accept from one more distant, and less agreeable, that succour. I entreat you to reply to this by the bearer, for the time and the occasion require that I should be resolved; and having already, by your friendly letter, confirmed a sure hope of obtaining this my affectionate last request, I will not detain you longer, save to thank you for your favourable replies in all other things.

And after having begged you to give credit to the bearer of this, which he will require of you

on my part, I will present my very affectionate commendations to your good grace, praying God that he will give you, &c.

From Wingfield.[u]

The Queen of Scots to the Sieur de la Mothe Fenelon.[x]

April 18th, 1569.

Monsieur de la Mothe,—By letters that I have received from Scotland since the departure of the Bishop of Ross, I have learned how those things came to pass there,[y] which is that the Duke of Chatêlherault, and the others, who were still in my obedience, finding themselves destitute of all succour, and sore pressed by my rebels, who had had leisure to prepare themselves before the others were permitted to leave this country, and were, moreover, strengthened with money from this side to levy and maintain soldiers, and be-

[u] Elizabeth, forgetting her own dire distress on the same anniversary some years before, had, on Palm Sunday, 1569, avowed in one of her letters, "that the Queen of Scots' head should *never* rest;" and on this cruel principle she was removed, April 1569, from Tutbury to Wingfield, or Winkfield Castle, in Derbyshire. "Winkfield," says Camden, "was a great and goodly manor, where Ralph, Lord Cromwell, state-minister in the reign of Henry VI., built a stately house."

[x] Dépêche de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 376.

[y] The defection of her adherents, which had been so triumphantly reported to her by Queen Elizabeth in her letter of the 3rd of March.

yond this were openly assisted with English horse and foot by my Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, they have been constrained to dispose themselves to that which the Queen of England intimated to the Duke of Chatêlherault at his departure, when she said, as I wrote to you a day or two ago, "that if he would not recognize the authority of my son, he might expect neither support nor favour from her, but, on the contrary, she would injure him whenever she could." Under these circumstances, the said duke and Lord Herries trusted their persons to the Earl of Murray; on which he, having them in his power, made them prisoners, and put them in the Castle of Edinburgh, where they are now, to force them, as they are told, to agree to some articles which he has proposed to them, besides their submission. They have complained of him, and supplicate me to employ my friends in their behalf, protesting that what they have done was to reserve to themselves the power of serving me again, and to escape utter ruin, seeing that the Queen of England banded with my rebels; and that, if to save their lives, and get out of prison, they have yielded peradventure to other things, they entreat me to believe (some security being given from my rebels) that this will be for no longer than such time as they can have suc-

cour. I pray you to make this known to the king, monsieur my brother-in-law, and madame my good mother, together with the negociation that you shall understand by the Bishop of Ross. I have written to them now, and remit the same to you, assuring myself that you will do in this, as in other things, the office of a good friend.

I hope that, God permitting, in a short time the said lord (the King of France) will so reduce all his rebels that, his own affairs being settled, he will have pity on mine, and that he will in the meantime take in hand to aid the Castle of Dunbarton, where are those of my realm who are still under my authority, and in the hope of recovering it through him. It is in such want of munitions, of large artillery, and of victuals, that if it be not succoured between this and the beginning of June, my Lord Fleming, who has the defence of it, will be constrained to surrender, and go himself with the others, as he has sent to me by his last advice, not having means to hold out much longer. I beseech you, Monsieur de la Mothe, to represent this, to the end that he may be supplied if it be possible.

The Bishop of Ross will inform you more particularly of all things, for which cause I will not make this longer than to pray God to give you,

Monsieur de la Mothe, that which you most desire, &c.

Added by way of postscript.

I have just received the advice herewith enclosed from the Earl of Huntley, of which I have had a translation made word for word, for the purpose of sending it to you. I believe that he will do as he has said, for besides the obligation that is due to me for his life and goods, which I have given him, he has a deadly feud with the Earl of Murray, who has done to death his father and his brother, and would do as much by him, and exterminate his house.

The Earl of Huntley holds still, in my name, all the northern counties in obedience, and has overawed all those who would league with my rebels. He is too far off to care for the succour the Queen of England can make to my said rebels; and, with a little aid, would have means to come and look after them, or, at the least, to take from them much of the country, and seize himself several places of importance; and if, from the side of Dunbarton, there were a union with him, the whole of the west country would be sure to rise in my favour, whatever appointment or promise there may be from the Duke of Chatêlherault with the Earl of

Murray and his complices, for neither of these two[2] can long continue, if the other be not wholly ruined and destroyed. I beseech you, Monsieur de la Mothe, to give information of this to the king, and supplicate him again to accord some succour to my poor afflicted realm; and if his own affairs will not permit him, as yet, to give me his entire support, that it will please him not to allow me to lose Dunbarton for the want of munitions and a little money.

Written the last day of April, at Wingfield.

The Earl of Huntley to the Queen of Scots.[a]

(Enclosed in her letter to La Mothe Fenelon).

I have before this written to your majesty, by the means of the Lord Herries, the trick that the Duke of Chatêlherault, and those of that side, have played, in agreeing with the Earl of Murray, of which I knew nothing, till they summoned me one day to Edinburgh, which I refused; and therefore I entreat your majesty to hasten him to explain his intentions; for being so distant from the others, I am not assured of any but my Lord Crawford, and my Lord Ogilvie, who have had nothing to do with them. Wherefore, if I can avoid my total ruin, I will not do any thing till I

[2] Huntley and Murray.

[a] Dépêches de la Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 379.

have your majesty's instructions; otherwise, I entreat you not to take in evil part any thing that I may do; and be assured, that as long as I live, you will find me faithful to your service, and that I would rather meet my death by the traitors, than do aught to displease your majesty. They have very shamefully deceived you; and before the mischief has fallen on me, which I should not in the least regard, provided that I could serve your majesty, I supplicate very humbly for a speedy succour of foreigners, or the return of your majesty, if it be possible.

Of whatever sort it may be, if an army come from France, cause the descent to be made on the north, for there it is the most sure, and I will hazard all for your service.

However matters may have happened, the Duke of Chatêlherault has not acted honourably in your majesty's cause, neither to me, which makes me supplicate, very humbly, that you would hasten the aid of France and Spain, and I will take the thing on me. Two thousand—even five hundred men—would suffice, with proper munitions, and with them I would do it. I entreat your majesty to be assured that all Europe shall know that my life, and all that I have, are at your command.

The bearer is sure, and I beseech your majesty

to send to me by him what it will please you that I should do.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[b]

Wingfield, April 24, 1569.

Madame my good sister, seeing that the term is now passed of eight or ten days that I have waited the return of Sandy Bog, one of my servants (whom incontinently after the receipt of your favourable letters sent by Borthwick, I despatched), I would not defer sending you our councillor, the Bishop of Ross, present bearer, to entreat you to let me be no longer passive as to what my rebels do, neither incur further delay on any account; for I already fear that the length of my stay, and the rudeness of your borderers, and the strict guard where I am kept, have too much staggered the fidelity of my obedient subjects, seeing themselves thus deprived of my presence, and of all certain intelligence of my will and intention. It is this, I am persuaded, that has induced them to take so false and dastardly a turn, as that of which you were pleased to inform me you had heard from my rebels,[c]

[b] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 380—381.

[c] See Elizabeth's previous letter of March 31, when with much grimace of sympathy, she informs Mary that her partizans have submitted to Murray.

such being the case, I have no reliance but on you, and much rather do I implore your support and aid, than my longer abode here, and patient waiting of your good pleasure, which is the cause of all this harm. I am, I assure you, in great need of your shewing me your natural kindness, for which I supplicate you, considering that common proverb,—*bis dat, qui tempestive dat.*[d]

I have sought you above all other princes, because I would prefer above all others to receive obligation from you; more, at length, I have given charge to the said bishop to make you an instant request, with the declaration of my sincere and natural affection for you, and how I shall be as much beholden to you for quick and favourable assistance, as I am bound to you by blood and nature. I entreat you to believe all that he will say to you, as much as if it were said by myself; and to let him have your prompt determination; for the state of my affairs, as may be well supposed, and the long time that I am here detained, to my regret, and the season proper to make a journey, require, either that I should at last receive your good help, or resolve with your goodwill to seek it elsewhere. Above all, doubt not the full sufficiency of the Bishop of Ross.

[d] *Who timely gives, gives twice.*

I will pray God, after having presented to you my very humble commendations, that He will, &c.

The Same to the Same.

April 25th, 1559, at Wingfield.

Madame my good sister, as soon as I received your letters by Borthwick, I despatched one of my servants, named Alexander Bok, (*he seems the Sandy Bog of the preceding letter,*) into Scotland, for whom I waited till the 20th day, at the end of which term, not having any other news, and being informed that *Mylor Husdon* (*Lord Hundsdon, governor of Berwick,*) had assisted and strengthened my rebels in person, accompanied by the bands of Berwick, for the inforcement of the usurped administration of Mora (Murray) and his accomplices; and that a servant of the Duke of Chatelherault, who had already had his commission, was sent after, and arrested by the information of Mora, and his letters taken, which I believe were for me, so that I can hear nothing from thence; all which makes me believe that I am in danger of remaining wholly without news from Scotland, if you do not please to issue different orders. Wherefore, I will no longer defer to despatch my councillor, the Bishop of Ross, present bearer, to supplicate you, that without further waiting the good or evil deportment of

my subjects, you will resolve on a direct reply; and, according to my long and urgent request, either return me to my realm, or, still better, permit me to depart to seek succour from other princes, my allies and friends. For it is now more than a year since I first awaited your resolution, during which time my rebels have greatly strengthened themselves. Therefore I cannot any longer, by my own consent, brook farther delay, without resolving me for what cause, as more at length the Bishop of Ross shall declare to you on my part, to whom I supplicate you give credit as to myself.

I send my affectionate recommendations to your good grace, praying God that he will give you, &c. &c.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[e]

Wingfield, April 28, 1569.

Madame my good sister, having, since the departure of Sandy Bog, received letters from my obedient subjects by a gentleman of mine, and, among others, from the Duc de Châtelherault (Hamilton), complaining that they are detained prisoners, and menaced, if they do not agree to all that will please Mora (Murray), and his accomplices, it seems to me that you ought to be in-

[e] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 382.

formed of all this, since their enemies (*i. e. Murray and party*) tell you that they (*Mary's partisans*) have freely consented to the usurpations; and also to remind you, that in the last letter you had sent me, that you had issued orders that Mora should not have recourse to arms; yet I will declare to you, that this he nothing heeds. Since he thus detains my subjects—the principal among them—forcing them to avow and approve of his perverse actions against me, there is no time to lose. Wherefore, without longer amusing me, give me a brief reply by the Bishop of Ross, or return me directly (according to my request) into my own country, or altogether refuse me, for your choice between these two positions cannot longer be delayed.

The state of my affairs constrains me to speak to you thus freely, and to press you once more for your speedy determination; for any other reply or delay that I may receive from you, I shall regard but as a direct refusal, which will force me (to my regret) to embrace any other aid which it may please God to send me. I have not, therefore, failed to send you this full warning, to the end that you might not hold me in ill-will, or take offence at what will follow, assuring you that I will not willingly do anything to offend or displease you, otherwise than to save my state, and

to deliver my oppressed subjects from the injustice of my rebels.

I supplicate you, madame, to bind me to you by amity and good offices, rather than by strict guard; my only desire, as the fruit of my labour here, being to render you all the duty and friendship which can be offered by a loved and dear sister, as I have instructed my councillor, the Bishop of Ross, to make you understand more at length, on my part; to whom referring, I will conclude, praying God, &c. &c.

The Queen of Scots to the Sieur La Mothe Fenelon.[f]

Wingfield, May 7, 1569.

Monsieur La Mothe, I have been very glad to see, by the letters of the king, monsieur my good brother, the good news of the victory that it has pleased God to give him;[g] but I am in pain that I have not heard from the queen, madame my good mother, and that there are still flying reports that the foes are the strongest. I pray you, Monsieur de la Mothe, to write to me freely and fully the whole truth.

[f] From the despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 390—391.

[g] Mary alludes to the famous battle of Jarnac, where the Huguenots were defeated by the Royalists under the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France.

If I can obtain leave for one of my people to go, I should not fail to send word how much I rejoice with the king at the happy success of his affairs; if not, I will address my letters to you at the first convenience.

I pray God to give you, Monsieur de la Mothe, that which you most desire.

P.S. (*in cypher.*) I entreat you not to allow, in the meantime, the occasion to pass of representing to the king the necessity of prompt succour for Dunbarton, and the importance of that place; and assure yourself, that if ever I find means to escape from where I now am, I shall never diminish my good-will and affection towards those to whom it is due. It seems to me, Monsieur de la Mothe, that if you were, at this season, to speak a little sharply to the Queen of England, I should be better off.

The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross.[h]

Wingfield, May 15, 1569.

Monsieur de Ross, having the convenience of sending to you at present, I have much wished to give you some account of my health, fearing that you would be in pain from having, perhaps, learned the state I was in this morning, which

[h] La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. p. 422.

was like that in which you saw me at Jeddart. I had taken pills at eight o'clock, and was suddenly taken with shivering and vomiting, and fell several times into convulsions, in which I remained till an hour after noon; but, thanks to God, I feel myself much recovered, and hope I shall soon find myself better.[1] If any of my friends have heard anything of this, you can put them out of pain; and, in the meantime, I pray God to have you, Monsieur de Ross, in his holy care.

[1] This attack of illness was so violent, that the French ambassador, M. La Mothe Fenelon, wrote to the king of France,—"The Queen of Scots has been extremely ill; and it was sent word to me yesterday evening at vespers, that she was dead; but at eleven o'clock at night I had information that, on the contrary, she was better, and that she is in good hopes of recovery; and this has been further confirmed this morning from good authority. I wish I could recover the copy of a letter which she has written during her great sickness to this queen, touching the cession of her right and title to this kingdom, and the objections she has made to monsieur the brother of your majesty." In another letter to the queen-mother of France, after giving the particulars of Mary's alarming illness, he adds,—"This queen has sent her physician to her, and appeared as if she would have been glad if she could restore her to her former state. I hope the power and the name of your majesty will assist to accommodate the affairs of the said lady, without inconvenience to yourself; she is in great want of money for the most trifling necessaries."—Dépêche de La Mothe Fenelon to the queen-mother of France, vol. i. p. 403.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

Wingfield, May 15, 1569.

Madame,—Having understood, by the Bishop of Ross, my councillor, that some objections were made to hinder the prompt demonstrations of your goodwill towards me, on the allegation that I had made some contracts with Monsieur d'Anjou, the brother of the king, monsieur my brother, which might prejudice you, I therefore force myself to write, not having yet recovered my health, by these ill-written letters to assure you, on my conscience, honour, and credit, that I have never made any contract with him nor any other; neither have I ever done anything that could tend to your prejudice, since I have arrived at years of discretion; nor would I do anything so disadvantageous to my country and myself, as to make such contract or change. Of this I can give you any proof, assurance, and pledge, that you may please to desire, as the Bishop of Ross will tell you more at length. I entreat you to believe him, and excuse me, for I am too feeble to write to you as I could wish on this subject; only I force myself to render you the testimony of my hand, to which I call on God to witness, and pray Him to have you in His holy keeping.

This Sunday morning, 15th of May, 1569.

[1] La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. p. 422.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, to the Queen of Scots.[k]

May, 25 1569.

Madame,—To my infinite regret, I have learned the great danger in which you have lately been, and I praise God that I heard nothing of it, until the worst was past; for, in whatever time or place it might have been, such news could have given me little content; but if any such bad accident had befallen you in this country, I believe, really, I should have deemed my days prolonged too long, if, previous to death, I had received such a wound.

I rely much on His goodness who has always guarded me against mal-accidents, that he will not permit me to fall into such a snare, and that He will preserve me in the good report of the world till the end of my career. He has made me know, by your means, the grief I might have felt if anything ill had happened to you; and I assure you, that I will offer up to Him infinite thanksgivings.

As to the reply, that you wish to receive by my Lord Boyd, regarding my satisfaction in the case touching the Duke of Anjou,[l] I neither doubt your honour nor your faith, in writing to me

[k] Translated from vol. ii. pp. 59, 60, Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon. Elizabeth's letter seems to have been originally composed in French.

[l] This was the cession supposed to have been made by Mary to Anjou.

that you never thought of such a thing, but that perhaps some relative,[m] or rather some ambassador of yours having the general authority of your signature to order all things for the furtherance of your affairs, had adjusted this promise as if it came from you, and deemed it within the range of his commission.

Such a matter would serve as a spur to a courser of high mettle; for as we often see a little bough serve to save the life of a swimmer, so a slight shadow of claim animates the combatant. I know not why they (*the royal family of France*) consider not that the bark of your good fortune floats on a dangerous sea, where many contrary winds blow, and has need of all aid to obviate such evils, and conduct you safely into port. And if so be they are able to serve you in aught, still you can in honour deny the intention (*of transferring her rights to young Anjou*); for if this right abides in them, then to me pertains the wrong.

Forasmuch I entreat you, to have such consideration for me, (to whom the like right only pertains, who have merited, on your part, true guerdon and honourable opinion), with such deeds as may preserve the true accord of har-

[m] Meaning her mother, Mary of Guise, queen-regent of Scotland, or the regent Arran.

mony with mine, who, in all my actions towards you, will never fail of right dealing.

Howbeit, this bearer will declare to you more amply what I wish in this case. Moreover, if you desire some reply as to the commission given to my Lord Ross, (*the Bishop of Ross*), I believe that you forget how near it touches me if I tamper with aught that I am satisfied touches your honour and my safety. Meantime, I will not fatigue you with this letter longer than that, with my cordial commendations, I pray God to preserve you in good health, and give you long life. From Greenwich.[n]

Acts relative to the cession made by Marie Stuart of her rights on the Crown of England.[o]

These papers, which are extracted from the archives of France, are under the following titles:—

1st. An act of donation made by Marie Stuart, Queen of Scotland, to the profit of Henry II.,

[o] A copy of this letter was sent by Mary, Queen of Scots, to the French ambassador for the inspection of Catherine de Medicis. La Mothe Fenelon states the highly curious fact, that the point of the cession Mary, Queen of Scots, had been supposed to have made of her kingdom to the Duke of Anjou, was first inquired into in parliament by the Duke of Norfolk, ostensibly on account of the public benefit, but with a secret regard to his own interest, as he was engaged to marry Mary.

Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. pp. 423, 424.

the 4th of April, 1558, twenty days before her marriage with the dauphin, of the kingdom of Scotland, and all her rights on the throne of England, if she should die without children.[p]

[p] Pressed as Elizabeth was in the foregoing urgent letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, either to afford her aid, or let her depart, she gave as her reasons for the treatment that queen had received since her arrival, that a heavy grievance existed of which she had to complain, to wit, that Mary had bequeathed all her rights in the crown of England, in case she died without children, to Henry, Duke of Anjou, second son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis.

It appears on the very face of the above deed, that the cession signed by Mary, when a girl of fourteen, was not made to benefit Anjou, but Henry II. himself. Only the titles are offered to our readers, as we are unwilling to load our pages with any state papers which do not directly bear on the personal history of Mary; the existence of these papers does so, but not their detail (for which, see La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. pp. 423 to 433), which is merely technical. Mary, supposing she had at last discovered the secret cause of her mysterious detention in England, wrote urgently by the French ambassador, La Mothe Fenelon, to implore Charles IX., Henry of Anjou, and Catherine de Medicis, to humour the jealousy of Elizabeth, by denying that she had given such right to Anjou. They immediately executed deeds denying that Anjou had such cession, in hopes that Mary would be enabled forthwith to treat for her liberty with Elizabeth. The precedent for this cession, extorted from Mary by the ambition of her father-in-law, Henry II., appears to have been one made by his mother, Queen Claude, as Duchess of Bretagne, which annexed that duchy for ever to the crown of France, even in the case of the failure of her heirs; and that came to pass in the same century, when Henry IV. ascended the throne of France, to the disparagement of the lineal heirs of Bretagne. After all, the cession made by Mary, was to *Henry II. and his successors*. If Elizabeth could have seen the original deed, she would have perceived that it was Charles IX., *as successor* of Henry II., who should have *renounced this cession, and not Anjou*, who is not named therein. The editor of the Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon

2nd. Another act, made the same day, equally to the profit of Henry II., containing solely an engagement for the crown of Scotland, to abandon to him all the revenues of that kingdom, till the entire reimbursement of the sum owed to France, valued at a million of gold pieces.

3rd. A last act, subscribed the same day by Marie Stuart, containing a formal renunciation of all she had been forced to do by the States of Scotland.

4th. A declaration made by Charles IX., at the demand of Elizabeth, July 10, 1569, stating that Marie Stuart had not made to the Duc d'Anjou, cession of her rights to the English crown.

5th. The same declaration, signed by the Duc d'Anjou on the 17th of July, 1569.

A similar declaration was signed by the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, by the Cardinal de Lorraine, uncle to Mary, and by the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador; (but these last acts are not found among the ambassador's papers).

justly observes, that Camden, Rapin, Robertson, Keralio, and, indeed, most authors of the preceding century, have vague allusions to these deeds, without any certain knowledge of what they really were.

Declaration of M. le Duc d'Anjou, on the donation of the title of the crown of England, alleged to have been made to him by the Queen of Scotland.[q]

July 17, 1569.

Henry, son and brother of the king, Duke of Anjou and the Bourbonnois, Count de Forests, and first peer of France, lieutenant-general of the king, representing his person in all the countries, lands, and lordships in his obedience, to all which these present letters give greeting.

The Queen of Scotland, our very dear and well-beloved sister-in-law, has made us understand, that being willing to treat with the Queen of England, our cousin, on the differences which have been for a long time between them, regarding the title of the crown of England,—it being set forth and alleged by the Queen of England and her council, that they have heard and been advised, that our said sister-in-law, the Queen of Scotland, has given to us all the right and title which she has or can pretend to the crown of England, and that the said cession and donation has been approved and confirmed by the authority of our holy father the pope; and further, that WE, as cessionary of the said Queen of Scotland, would pursue by arms the right which, for the said

[q] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i., p. 433, from the Archives du Royaume.

reasons, could appertain to us, and that we have deliberated to make incursion into England on this pretext and colour.

On the occasion of such advertisements, the said Queen of England has delayed to convene and accord the said differences with her, the aforesaid Queen of Scotland, our sister-in-law; alleging that by the like means she had not the power of contracting with assurance, if firstly, there appeared not our declaration, containing the truth of the fact, and likewise that of the king, our lord and brother, and the queen, our very honoured lady and mother.

For this being duly and well informed, we declare and affirm, on the faith and the word of a prince, that the said cession of right and title which can be pretended to by our said sister-in-law, the Queen of Scotland, to the crown of England has never been made by her, nor by any other having power or commission from her, nor thought of; neither has it been approved by our holy father the pope; neither have we ever had any will, nor intention of any war or invasion in the country of the said Queen of England or her realm, by occasion of such cession or donation; and such information as has been given and reported can be but falsely and maliciously raised by persons, who are jealous and envious of the

conservation of the mutual amity and good intelligence which is between the king, our lord and brother, and the said Queen of England.

We, for this cause, certify and assure all that it may concern, that all which is above is truth, on our honour and conscience.

In testimony of which we have signed these presents with our hand, and on it put the seal of our arms.

Given at the camp of Ambazac,[1] the seventeenth of July, the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine.

(Thus signed,) Henry.

[Sealed with red wax, and on the back,

By monseigneur the duke, son and brother of the king.]

Sarres.

The Queen of Scots to La Mothe Fenelon.[2]

September 20, 1569.

Monsieur de la Mothe, I send to you the present bearer, to inform you that I shall be trans-

[1] The late victory of Jarnac had made the Duke of Anjou the hero of the Catholic party in Europe, and at this time he was still in arms to reduce the Huguenots in his brother's dominions, which made him appear in a formidable position. Elizabeth, in this deed, is represented as if in a state of personal alarm at the likelihood of his invasion, not very usual to an English sovereign, nor much justified by the real state of France.

[2] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. ii. p. 254—5.

ferred to-morrow to Tutbury, and from thence to Nottingham, where I shall be put in the hands of the two greatest enemies I have, to wit, the Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford,[1] and others of their faction who have already arrived here. I have found no reliance on my Lord Shrewsbury in the hour of my need, for all the fine speeches he made to me formerly, yet I can in no wise depend on his promise.

All these things considered, I feel in alarm for my life, and entreat you, as soon as you receive this to send this packet to the Bishop of Ross, or rather to the Duke of Norfolk, and hold a consultation with them and my other friends as to what is most expedient for my safety; and even to speak to the Queen of England, as much as possible to hinder my removal, if it is practicable for you to obtain an audience.

From Wingfield,[2] this 20th of September, 1569.

[1] They were the representatives of the Calvinist or Puritan faction in England, the party which placed Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Huntingdon, though the great nephew of Cardinal Pole, had been a puritan since he married Dudley, Duke of Northumberland's daughter. Hertford considered his children by Lady Catherine Grey heirs to the throne of England, by virtue of the will of Henry VIII. Hence their enmity to the lineal heiress.

[2] When the plot of Leonard Dacres for delivering the Queen of Scots was discovered, she was removed from Wingfield to Tutbury Castle, where she was strictly guarded. From this castle she writes the next letter, five days afterwards. In November the northern rebellion broke out, and the rebels, on the 21st of that month, came as

The Queen of Scots to La Mothe Fenelon, French Ambassador.[x]

Sept. 25, 1569.

I believe you know how rudely I have been treated, prevented from writing or receiving letters of any kind, my servants driven away, and all my people searched.

I am here at Tutbury, where they tell me that my Lord Huntingdon will take charge of me. He pretends to the same right to which I pretend, and thinks to have it[y]—judge if my life is in safety. I entreat you to consult with those known to be my friends; likewise say to the Queen of England, that if any harm happens to me, being as I am, consigned to the hands of persons suspected of bearing me no goodwill, she will be considered

near to Tutbury as Tadcaster, (Cecil's Diary). The Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford came to help Shrewsbury in the charge of the Scottish queen. On the 25th they removed her to Ashby-de-la Zouch, the seat of the Earl of Huntingdon, and the next day to Coventry, where they had no furniture, and wrote, in this dilemma, to know Elizabeth's pleasure. They staid, nevertheless at Coventry over Christmas. Mary was conducted back to Tutbury from Coventry, January, 1569-70. From Sadler's Papers it appears that Tutbury was a convenient place of detention, because its access through the passes of the hills was difficult, and a watch of soldiers could be kept in the villages perched on the circle of hills that surrounded the castle.

[x] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. ii. p. 263.

[y] Whatever claim the Earl of Huntingdon could have made to the English throne, must have been founded on the illegitimation of the whole of Edward the Fourth's progeny by Act of Parliament, in the reign of Richard III.

by the king, my brother-in-law, and all other princes, the cause of my death. Use this information according to your discretion, and warn the Duke of Norfolk to take care of himself, for they threaten him with the Tower.

Confer with the Bishop of Ross directly on this, for I am not aware that he knows anything of it. I have sent four of my servants, at all hazard, to let him know. But I know not whether they will pass, for Bourtic (Borthwick) was taken and searched, but he had hidden his letters on the way, from whence I found means to have them withdrawn.

I have written to the king, (Charles IX.) and to the queen-mother, and I have sent the packet to be delivered to you, or to Ross. Send my excuses, if they have not heard from me, and entreat their favour for me.

I entreat that you will make the Spanish ambassador accompany you to speak in my favour, for my life is in danger while in their hands, (*of Huntingdon and party*). Encourage and advise with my friends, to hold themselves on their guard, and to act for me now or never.

Keep secret this letter, so that no one knows anything of it, or I shall be guarded more strictly than ever; and give your letters *de faveur* to this

bearer secretly, for my Lord Shrewsbury's *ship*[1], the most sure and favourable that can be, for that will serve me greatly to find favour towards him, but if it is known you ruin me! Some means must be found that I may learn your news through some of the English here; one might try the Mayor of Derby; and remind Ross of the vicar near here, for he will act for me also.

I beg you to have compassion on a poor prisoner in danger of her life, and without having offended. If I stay any time here, I shall not only lose my kingdom, but my existence; if they could inflict no worse ill than the grief I feel at losing all intelligence of, and all hope of succouring my faithful subjects. If prompt remedy be not found, then God grant me patience! and that I may die in his law, and in goodwill towards the King and Queen of France, to whom I implore make my moan, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine, my uncle.

(*Postscript added since the letter was written*).

Since writing this letter Huntingdon has returned, having from the queen the absolute charge of me. The Earl of Shrewsbury, at my request,

[1] The Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury had two or three ships belonging to them, which were often sailing from the northern ports with slate, lead, &c., and the products of their estates.

has prevented him from taking me away, until a second order arrives (*from Queen Elizabeth*). I entreat you to represent the violation of the law of nations, by placing me in the hands of one who is a competitor to the crown as well as I am. You know also the great difference in our religions.

I beg also you will write, and favourably, by the ship of the said Earl of Shrewsbury, by this bearer, and let it be secret.

From Tutbury, Sept. 25, 1569.

La Mothe Fenelon to the King of France.

Sept. 27, 1569.

The Queen of England sent a gentleman to the Queen of Scots without any letter, but he was charged to speak to her, before the Earl of Shrewsbury, on her intentions of marrying the Duke of Norfolk, and that she ought not to have thought of it without her knowledge. The Queen of Scots inquired of the gentleman, if he had letter or commission from the queen his mistress to tell her so; when the Earl of Shrewsbury advanced, and told her that his commission was very well known to him. The Queen of Scots replied—"Such affirmation sufficed not for conduct which touched her so nearly; that if he,

the Earl of Shrewsbury, had seen the person's commission, *she* had not; that although the Queen of England had not written to her, she should write to her forthwith." She accordingly wrote a very courteous and sage letter, and sent it in reply by the said gentleman, with which the Queen of England may possibly rest satisfied. And the Bishop of Ross has gone to seek an interview with Queen Elizabeth at Windsor, to remove from her mind those bad impressions which have caused her to double the guard of his queen, and even to commit it to the Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford, her sworn enemies. Meantime, the Duke of Norfolk comes no more to court, but has gone to Norfolk without the leave of Elizabeth.

Oct. 18th.

[*Fenelon,*[a] *after mentioning the arrest of Sir de Trogmorton and Robert Ridolfi, and the preparation for trial of the Duke of Norfolk, adds,*] "There is some appearance that the Queen of Scots will be soon removed to another place; it is thought *Quillingourt*, a seat of the Earl of Leicester—(*he means Kenilworth.*) She displays the utmost magnanimity, and a great and virtuous mind, surrounded by evils and adverse fortune. We assist her here all we can, and give her all

[a] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. ii. p. 285. Oct. 18, 1569.

the consolation possible, by letters and expediting her affairs, as you are pleased to command me."

Nov. 9th.

She is treated with great severity, but has found means to forward to me four letters enclosed[b] which I really believe she has written without light, I assure your majesty they will move you to compassion. The Duke of Norfolk is in the Tower, his guards are doubled for the last few days.

Nov. 18th.

The Queen of Scots has sent me tidings that she is better treated, and already feels the benefit of the negociation your very Christian majesties made in her behalf with this queen her cousin, notwithstanding the great wrath still borne against her; she has withdrawn Huntingdon and his men, so that for the present she is in the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury alone, and both he and his countess behave in all things truly and honourably to the said Queen of Scots.

[This despatch of the French ambassador, dated September 27, 1569, containing the piteous appeal of the poor prisoner, written on the 25th of the same month, was violently seized upon in

[b] The four little letters written by Mary "without light," enclosed, were lost in the adventure detailed, at the end of this journal, vol. ii. p. 331, extracted from La Mothe Fenelon's current despatches. He had preserved a copy of his despatches as we see, but not of the little letters, for which, most likely, the attack was made.

the following manner. He had sent his courier to Lord Cobham for a passport, when, in a wood about three miles from the house of Lord Cobham, several masked horsemen beset him, flung him from his horse, and demanded the French letters; they then bound him, tied him to a tree, left him there, and carried off his papers. La Mothe Fenelon made bitter complaints of this violation of the law of nations, and entreated that reprisals might be made on Elizabeth's ambassador. He sent, however, copies of his despatch.]

La Mothe Fenelon to the King of France.[b]

It is true, that in the folding of the paper I had enclosed a little letter from the Queen of Scotland. I have now sent a copy, by which you may see the state of the said lady, and consult and deliberate on the means of moving the heart of the Queen of England—if it be not too hard—and setting before her eyes the great wrong done to her reputation by those who give her such violent counsel, if she act thus towards this poor princess.[c] I had also put in my last despatch the letters the Queen of Scots had written to your

[b] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. ii. The little letter is not extant.

[c] This was just before the arrest of the Duke of Norfolk, who had retired to Norfolk; but Pembroke, Arundel, and Lord Lumley, were confined to their houses. The implication of Pembroke in this

majesty, to the queen (Catherine de Medicis), to monsieur, and to monsieur the duke, to her uncles the cardinals, to her other uncles, and to Madame de Guise her grandmother, all which contained but thanks or kind expressions.

[Before the group of letters are examined called the love-letters of Mary Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk, a few words are perhaps necessary, on the somewhat interesting question, of whether Norfolk and Mary ever met? Mr. Tytler, the erudite modern historian of Scotland, is inclined to think that they were personally acquainted, though, as yet, he has met with no documentary evidence to prove it; and when it is remembered that Lady Scrope, wife to Lord Scrope, at whose Castle of Bolton, Mary resided for some weeks, was *sister to the Duke of Norfolk*, and that the duke was in the north when Mary was resident at Bolton Castle, little doubt can arise that the queen and the duke were personally acquainted. However, in the absence of documen-

rising is a mysterious point. The insurgents in the north involved his name, and that of Arundel, with that of their own in their proclamation, and Mary believed they both were her partizans.

The French ambassador, Fenelon, wrote to Catherine de Medicis, Oct. 13th same year, that Mary was still at Tutbury, under the mutual guard of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon.

tary history, biography bears some weight, and we here offer a translation regarding this point from Pierre le Pesant du Bois Guilbert, who wrote the life of Mary about the time of Louis XIII., chiefly from the important documents of M. de Mauvissière, the French ambassador, Mary's contemporary.]

Translations from the Life of Mary, Queen of Scots, by M. le Pesant Sieur du Bois Guilbert.

The Duke of Norfolk was lord-lieutenant of that part of England which lies towards Scotland, and happening to be there when Queen Mary arrived in England, came to compliment her; the sight of her produced effects Elizabeth little dreamed of, for he became a passionate adorer of her charms; and when he became president of the commission for examining into her husband's death, he gave proof of his conviction of her innocence by offering to marry her. The deputies from the lords in Scotland, having cast many aspersions on their queen, concluded with mentioning her act of resignation, (her abdication at Lochleven), the Duke of Norfolk required them to produce their papers which made good these accusations. The Earl of Murray, noticing that the Duke of Norfolk made the demand with the air and manner of

one who believed in Mary's innocence, presently imagined there must exist some very extraordinary motive to make a courtier sacrifice his sovereign's favour for the safety of a stranger; for he knew that the Duke of Norfolk was not unacquainted with the will of Queen Elizabeth, and that he was not chosen president of that commission to act in the like manner.

He considered some time, and at last remembering the Duke had seen Queen Mary, was then at no loss for the motive which induced him to take her part. He refused to produce his proofs, without Queen Elizabeth would promise to abandon Queen Mary, if found guilty. Murray soon after went to the south, obtained an interview with Elizabeth, told her of his suspicions of Norfolk, and induced her to supersede him in his commission, as president for trying the proofs of Mary's guilt, appointing other commissioners. The consent of Bothwell to a divorce had been obtained before the marriage treaty between the queen and Norfolk commenced, and Lord Boyd had been sent with it to the Scottish parliament, which refused its consent. "The document signifying Bothwell's consent to the divorce remained among the family papers of Lord Boyd, to the present century."[d] Thus, Bothwell's reiterated vindications

[d] Chalmers, vol. i., p. 331.

of Mary's innocence of all idea of her husband's death, when a prisoner, and on his death-bed at Malmöe, deserves the more credit as being perfectly disinterested, as his marriage with Mary had been deemed a nullity by his own consent.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.[a]

(Probably) January 15, 1570.

I thank God, my own good lord, that you are in better case nor was . . . . . as the Bishop of Ross will tell you, for I took the hazard to *Mendirll* wh . . . for to learn the truth, being in such pain as I could not be satisfied till I understood it. Your satisfaction of my friends glads me also. I can [not] fear all the practises of my enemies against me, so that you be still well persuaded of me, and my constancy to you. But alas! I fear of *Murray*, you should never believe [he] shall be too true, he will seek to hurt you all he can. But I think if *Leicester* and *Pembroke* be your friends, they will find means to countermand his draughts. But I dare not write as I would, being where you are being in all adventures. I pray you do a[ll] things for your

[a] Cottonian MS., Calig., c. ii. fol. 53. Whether the word *Mendirll* means a person, or place, is at present inexplicable. The sense of this letter is greatly injured by frequent hiatuses in the original, which no editor can venture to fill up from conjecture.

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weal; for if you do well, I trust to have my part less [or] more. I pray you let the Bishop of Ross, or any of your servants advertise me of your health, for I will not be at ease till I hear how you be mended. Last of all, I pray you, my good lord, trust none that shall say that I ever mind to leave you, nor to anything that may displease you, for I have determined never to offend you, but to remain yours; and though I should never buy it so dear, I think all well bestowed for your friendly dealings with me, undeserved. So I remain yours till death conform according to my faith . . . . dutiful promise. I look for goodwill and constancy again; so I pray God, as I do daily, to save you from all our enemies. The 15th of this instant.

Your own D.[f]

[She was probably at Tutbury.]

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.[g]

Jan. 31, 1570.

Mine own lord, I wrote to you before, to know your pleasure if I should seek to make any

[f] Perhaps by this initial signature, Mary means Norfolk's duchess. These letters are only extant in the transcript of the decypherer; they appear to have been composed by Mary in English, as many sentences seem as if written by a foreigner. This series of letters was written after the first examination of the Duke of Norfolk by the privy council.

[g] MS. Harl., 290, fol. 88.

enterprize; if it please you, I care not for my danger; but I would wish you would seek to do the like, for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough, and for your lands, I hope they should not be lost, for, being free and honourably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries, and the Queen of England, as they should not refuse. Our fault were not shameful; you have promised to be mine, and I yours; I believe the Queen of England and country should like of it. By means of friends, therefore, you have sought your liberty, and satisfaction of your conscience, meaning that you promised me you could not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do; for I will ever be, for your sake, perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and mine. As you please command me, for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will, either if I were not by humble submission, and all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, seeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray

God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends. This last of January.

Your own, faithful to death,

QUEEN OF SCOTS, my Norfolk.

[Endorsed, The Scottish Queen to the Duke.]

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.[h]

Sunday I received a writing by Borthwick from you, whereby I perceive the satisfaction you have of my plain dealing with you, as I must do of my duty. Considering how much I am beholden to you, many ways, I am glad the grant of my good-will is so agreeable to you. Albeit, I know myself to be so unworthy to be so well liked of one of such wisdom and good qualities, yet do I think mayhap great in that, yea much greater than my desert. Therefore I will be about to use myself so, that, so far as God shall give me grace, you shall never have cause to diminish your good conceit and favour of me, while I shall esteem and respect you in all my doings so long as I live, as you would wish your own to do. Now, good my lord, more words to this purpose would be unseemly to my present condition, and importunable to you, amongst so many business; but this, trust you, as written by them that means unfeignedly.

[h] Harl. 290, fol. 91.

This day I received a letter from you by this bearer, whereby I receive the thought you take of my health, which, thanks to God, is much better than it was at his departing, but not yet very strong, nor quit of the soreness of my side. It causes me to be more heavy and pensive than I would or need to be, considering the care you have of me, whereof I will not thank you, for I have remitted all my causes to you to do as for yourself. I write to the Bishop of Ross what I hear from the Duke D'Alva, governor of the Netherlands. Let me know your pleasure at length in writing, what I shall answer. Now, my Norfolk, you bid me command you; *that* would be besides my duty many ways. But to pray you I will, that you counsel me not to take patiently my great griefs, except you promise me to trouble you no more for the death of your ward. I wish you had another in his room to make you merry, or else I would he were out both of England and Scotland. You forbid me to write; be sure I will think it no pains, whenever my health will permit it, but pleasure, as also to receive your letters, which I pray you to spare not, when you have leisure without troubling you; for they shall fall in no hands where they will be better received.

The physicians write at length; they seem to

love you marvelously, and not mislike of me. We had but general talk, and some of your matters; but not in anybody's name; therefore I answered nothing, but giving ear soberly. When Borthwick goeth up, you shall understand all; in this it is unintelligible; meantime I must warn you, when I hear anything touching you. Argyle sends me word expressly, that, when he met at Stirling with Murray (the regent of Scotland), he assured him "I should never come home, and that he had intelligence for to be quit of me," he (Argyle) remembered him (Murray) of his promises. Borthwick will write it to the Bishop of Ross and my Lord Fleming. Argyle prayed me, "if you were my friend, to advertise you hastily." Take of this what pleases you; but I am sure they will be traitors to you and me; and if they were in Turkey, you and I were never the worse; albeit I will not be importune. But, an' this summer past, I hope *by* (for) good all the year. God preserve you from all traitors, and make your friends as true and constant. From Wingfield,[1] late at night, this 24th.

Your assured

MARY.

[1] This date of place does not agree with the dates of her letters at the corresponding time, viz., February 1570, (printed, vol. ii., which see). We have given the date of the year indicated by the Harleian

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.[j]

1570.

My own good lord, I have forborne this long time to write to you, in respect of the dangers of writing, which you seemed to fear; but I must remember you of your own at times, as occasion serveth, and let you know the continuance of my truth to you, which I see by this last look much detested, But, if you mind not to shrink at the matter, I will die and live with you. Your fortune shall be mine; therefore, let me know, in all things, your mind. The Bishop of Ross writes to me, that I should make the offers to the Queen of England now in my letter, which I write generally; because I would enter into nothing till I know your pleasure, which I shall now follow. I have heard that God hath taken your dear friend Pembroke,[k] whereof I am heartily sorry; albeit that, nor other matter, trouble you to your heart; for else you leave all your friends and me, for whose cause you have done so much already, that I trust you will preserve you a

and Cottonian Collections; but, were we to obey the promptings of internal evidence, we should distribute the earlier letters of this interesting series through the spring of the preceding year, 1569.

[j] MS. Harl. 290, fol. 90.

[k] The Earl of Pembroke died at Hampton Court, March 16, 1570. Queen Elizabeth had, in the preceding December, reinstated him in his offices at court.

happier meeting in despite of all such railers; wherein I suspect Huntingdon, for such like talk. But, for all their sayings, I trust in God you shall be satisfied with my conditions and behaviour, and faithful duty to you, whenever it shall please God I be with you, as I hope for my part the ..... maker shall never have the pleasure to see or hear my repentance or miscontentment therein. I have prayed God to preserve you, and grant us both His grace; and then let them, like blasphemers, feel. So I end with the humble and heartiest recommendations to you of your own faithful to death. This 19th of March.

Mary Queen of Scots to some person unknown.[1]

I have sent you that which ye desired, and is but sor . . is no better. I pray you solicit the ambassador to send support into Scotland, for now is the time, otherwise I will be forced to consent to dissemble soon to get my liberty, and embrace their reli[gion.][m] Therefore, now is the time to restore me in Sco[tland,] and help them or never. 18th April, 1570.

[1] MS. Cotton, Calig., c. ii., fol. 53.

[m] This letter is evidently addressed to a Catholic, whom she endeavours to stimulate by the dread of her change of faith.

The Queen of Scots to Catherine de Medicis.[a]

April 30, 1570.

Madame,—The honour that I have had in being nurtured in your family, as your very obedient daughter, and having always wished, all my life, to do you very humble service, makes me confident that in my great need my humble requests will be granted, with every indulgence that it may please you to make, and that you will assure to me the support of the king your son, and take the same care for me, that every good mother ought to do for one of her destitute children, for such I have the boldness to consider myself; and for the love of the late king your son, and the natural affection I have borne to you, which I call on yourself to witness. I shall neither speak of what I desire, nor what I fear; I leave these particulars to Monsieur de la Mothe, not having convenience at present to write, only to tell you that they are sending an army on the way towards the borders, to enter Scotland, if they are not already there, with a proclamation to strengthen my rebels and intimidate my faithful subjects. I have no means, save by you, to maintain the ancient alliance of these two realms, which by my ruin will be lost to the king your son, if prompt succour be

[a] From the Autograph Collection in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh, No. 34.

not given to those for whom I supplicate, together with the assurance that my servants may rely on being supported by you; nor will this be in vain, for they and I may then be the means of rendering you as good service as my predecessors have formerly done.

I am much grieved that this queen, to whom I am so nearly related, and whom I have never offended, should have so little regard to your prayers; and that, through her, I am compelled to be a trouble to you in the midst of so many important matters, in respect to which, if you are prevented from aiding me as much as you could wish, I entreat you to implore the other allied princes to join with you, for the support and re-establishment of a queen, your daughter and ally. To the king and you, after God, I shall owe the obligation, which I shall endeavour to requite by every means in my power; and in the meantime, I present my very humble recommendations to your good grace, praying God, madame, that he will give you, in health and every happiness, long life.

From Tutbury, this last of April.

I beseech the king your son to be good and favourable master to his servant and mine, George Douglas, for the services that he has done for me; and also for my ambassador the Bishop of Glas-

gow, to give him the means to remain near you for my service. The third is for the Bishop of Ross, for he will receive nothing from the Scotch, and is only waiting here for my service, which I cannot omit to notice; and not having the means of giving him any recompense, I entreat you to provide for him some little benefice for his maintenance during his exile and my imprisonment. I pray you to take this, my private request, in good part, for the necessity I am in.

Your very humble and very obedient daughter,

MARIE.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.[o]

May 11, 1570.

I would have been gladder nor I am, if the assurance of my carefulness in anything touching you might have prevailed against my suspicion, on the contrary, always I am glad that ere now ye may know, that o'er great haste to answer to your satisfaction, might cause a fault to be done without danger, for the letters remained, but my keys[p] are not in that peril you took them in. I pray you be sure I have none I trust in shall oversee them, nor I trust in none more

[o] MS. Harl. 290, fol. 92. The broken English in the Norfolk Series will strike every reader.

[p] Probably the keys of the cypher.

than in that I am not able to do; and if you will appoint one you trust to have to do, that I may not do, I am contented; for I assure you I write as much as I may do, and spare not my travail, for I have none other matters in head, than them that you have in hand to be occupied with, and I fear that it is too busy upon me presently, that I have not taken very much ease this last night, so that I am not able to write further, and this in pain, being in fever. I pray you, take it not in evil part, for I mind it not, for I thought yesternight to have sent you the token you sent, to pray you not to leave your care of me for any extremity. I send the Bishop of Ross letters from Scotland; do you in them as you think best; I may write no more. As soon as I be anything amended, I shall write more plainly. I pray God preserve you; and if you send me any news, I pray God they be more comfortable. From my bed, the 11th of May. I shall do what I may to be soon up, and so your answer to my last letters shall fully resolve you daily with letters. My trembling hand here will write no more.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.[q]

I have received, my own good constant lord, your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was, for the hope I see you are in to have some better fortune nor you had yet, through all your friends' favour; and albeit my friends' case in Scotland be of heavy displeasure unto me, yet nothing to the fear I had of my son's delivery,[r] and those that I thought might be cause of longer delaying your affairs. And therefore I took greater displeasure nor I have done since, and that diminisheth my health a little; for the Earl of Shrewsbury came one night so merry to me, shewing that the Earl of Northumberland was [sur]rendered to the Earl of Sussex, which since I have found false; but at the sudden, I took such fear for friends cumbering me, that I wept so till I was all swollen three days after; but since I have heard from you, I have gone abroad, and sought all means to avoid displeasure for fear of yours: but I have need to care for my health, since the Earl of Shrewsbury

[q] MS. Harl., 290, fol. 87. This letter was written in cypher to the Duke of Norfolk by his betrothed queen; it was intercepted and decyphered by Elizabeth's secretary. The orthography is here modernized from the decyphered manuscript.

[r] Elizabeth was treating for the young prince to be delivered up to her.

takes me to Chast*wyth* (Chatsworth); and the pestilence was in Rotherham, and in other places not farther nor Fulgeam's next land.

The Earl of Shrewsbury looks for Bateman to be instructed how to deal with me, because he is ablest, and clean turned from the Earl of Leicester: this I assure you, and pray you keep it quiet. I have no long leisure, for I trust to write by one of my gentlemen shortly more surely, for I think to have more matter after Bateman's coming. But I fear at Chastwyth I will get little means to hear from you, or to write; but I shall do diligence, and in this meantime I write to the Bishop of Ross to hear your opinion in the usage of the ambassadors, to have their master's help, and to follow it: for come what so will, I shall never change from you, but during life be true and obedient, as I have professed; and so I pray you think, and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily shall pray to God to send you happy and hasty deliverance of all troubles; not doubting but you would not then enjoy alone all your felicities, not remembering *your own*, faithful to death, who shall not have any advancement or rest without you; and so I leave to trouble you, but commend you to God. At M., this 17th day of May. Your own D.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.[1]

June 14, 1570.

My good Lord,—It has not been small comfort to me to have the means to discover at length, with our trusty servant the Bishop of Ross, that I might more plainly discover in all matters nor betray it, both for the better intelligence of the state there to me, and of my heart to him; but especially for the better intelligence betwixt us two; being means whom I have declared my opinion, in all things to use them by your advice, either to cover, as you please, and shall best serve your turn, for that will I have respect unto above all other things, or to accept or refuse whatsoever conditions you think for both our weal; for without yours, I will not have any. And therefore command him as for yourself, and as your trusty servant; and believe him of all that he will assure you in my name; that is, in effect, that I will be true and obedient to you, as I have promised, as long as I live; praying you, if you be not, as you hoped you should be, delivered, think no displeasure, but seek the best remedy; and having amply communed with him, I will not trouble you with long discourse, but remitting all to him, I will, after my hearty commendations to you, my good

[1] MS. Harl. 290, fol. 90.

lord, pray God to send you your hearty desire. From Chatlesworth, the 14th of June.

Your own, faithful to death.

Mary Queen of Scots to the Countess of Lenox.[1]

Madam,—If the wrong and false reports of rebels, enemies well known for traitors to you, and, alas! too much trusted of me by your advice, had not so far stirred you against mine innocency (and, I must say, against all kindness, that you have not only, as it were, condemned me wrongfully, but so hated me, as some words and open deeds have testified to all the world, a manifest misliking in you against your own blood), I would not thus long have omitted my duty in writing to you, excusing me of those untrue reports made of me. But hoping, with God's grace and time, to have my innocency known to you, as I trust it is already to the most part of all *indifferent* [impartial] persons, I thought it not best to trouble you for a time, [un]til that such a matter is moved that touches us both, which is the transporting your little [grand]son, and my only child, into this country. To the which, albeit I be never so willing, I would be glad to have your advice

[1] Cottonian MS. In the original orthography this letter is nearly illegible to the general reader.

therein, as in all other matters touching him. I have borne him (and God knows with what danger to him and me both), and of you he is descended. So I mean not to forget my duty to you in showing herein unkindness to you, how unkindly soever ye have dealt by me, but will love you as my aunt, and respect you as my mother-in-law. And if ye please to know further of my mind in that and all other things betwixt us, my ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, shall be ready to confer with you. And so, after my hearty commendations, remitting to my said ambassador and your better consideration, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God, whom I pray to preserve you and my brother Charles,[u] and cause ye to know my part better *nor* ye do. From Chatsworth, this 10th of July, 1570.

Your natural good niece and loving daughter,

M. R.

To my Lady Lenox, my mother-in-law.[v]

[u] Lord Charles Stuart, younger brother of Lord Darnley.

[v] The Countess of Lenox sent this letter to her husband, Matthew, Earl of Lenox, then at Glasgow, who returned the following answer: "Seeing you have remitted to me, to answer the queen, the king's mother's letter sent to you, what can I say, but that I do not marvel to see her write the best she can for herself, to seem to clear herself of that, whereof many beside me are certainly persuaded to the contrary, and I not only assured of my own knowledge, but by her *hand writ*, the confessions of men gone to the death, and other infallible experience? It will be long time that is able to put a matter

Catherine de Medicis to President De Thou.

Monsieur le President,—I pray, according to what the king, my son, has written to you, that you will quietly inquire out the printer who has

so notorious in oblivion, to make black white, or innocency to appear where the contrary is so well known. The maist *indifferent* (impartial), I trust, doubts not of the equity of your and my cause, and of the just occasion of our misliking. Her (Queen Mary's) right duty to you and me, being the party's interest, were her true confession and unfeigned repentance of that lamentable fact, odious for her to be reported, and sorrowful to us to think of. God is just, and will not in the end be abused; but as he has manifested the truth, so will he punish the iniquity."—Appendix of Robertson's History of Scotland.

This letter has been considered of great weight against Mary by Robertson. It is not an opinion, but the peculiar character and bias of the person who holds it, which is the matter of consequence. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, was a man of limited capacity, of great valour, but of ambition so insane, that he began life by endeavouring, with the aid of Henry VIII., to wrest Scotland from the lineal sovereigns, who were his near relatives. As a means of effecting this purpose, he put himself at the head of the Calvinists in Scotland, from the first germ of their political existence; and, in consequence, was a mortal enemy to Mary's cause even before she saw the light. Earl Matthew, being beaten, and exiled from Scotland, was consoled by Henry VIII. with the hand of his niece, Margaret Douglas, who was likewise an exile from Scotland. This lady was a violent Catholic; she was, withal, the cousin-german and bosom-friend of Queen Mary I.; she brought up her son Darnley in the same faith. How Earl Matthew, the Puritan, and Countess Margaret, the Catholic, settled their domestic religion is not known; perhaps their differences were only of outward semblance to the political world, for they were a most attached and loving couple. The domestic affections of Earl Matthew were very strong, and scarcely exceeded by the strength of his absurd ambition.

From the year 1564 he chiefly resided in Scotland with Darnley, his son, whom he encouraged in his illegal attempts to seize the

printed a book, translated from the Latin into French, (made or) written in London, against madame my daughter, the Queen of Scots. Meantime, get hold of and burn, secretly and without any notoriety, all you can find of the said book;[x] serving also, under your hand, warnings to the said printers, how they print any more, under such penalties as you may advise. And this, if it is possible, must not remain a mere formulary. And

crown after his marriage with Mary, Queen of Scots; he was, at the same time, a great enemy to that queen. Of course his grief was frantic at the death of his son, and he was better satisfied to believe Mary guilty, to whom he had been an enemy from her infancy, than his old party, by whom he was still flattered and beguiled. That he was a man of furious prejudices his conduct to the Archbishop of St. Andrews will show, whom he caused to be dragged to the gibbet without trial; in reprisal, he was assassinated a little while after he had attained the height of his ambition, having been proclaimed regent of Scotland in 1572, for his grandson James VI. His death-bed was heroic, and he died with the tenderest remembrances to his Catholic "wife Meg" on his lips. The Countess of Lenox, as Queen Mary anticipated in this letter, lived to acknowledge her entire innocence of the murder of Darnley. For five or six years before her death, she was in kindly intercourse with the queen her daughter-in-law. These facts are made entirely evident by the letters and will of the Countess of Lenox.

[x] This letter gives an early instance of the embarrassments, which the issue of libellous memoirs from the press, gave to the royal family of France; it was written soon after the execution of the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk. It is a proof, among many more, of the lively interest taken by Catherine de Medicis in the welfare and respectability of Mary, Queen of Scots. The offensive work was probably a French translation of Bothwell's Latin libel on Mary, which he called "The Detection."

you will do that thing which will be to the king my son, and me, most agreeable.

We pray to God, M. le President, to have you in his holy and worthy keeping. Written at Blois, the 22nd day of March, 1572.

(Signed) CATERINE.
(Beneath) PINART.[y]

[Endorsed to M. de Cely (de Thou), councillor of the council of the king, Charles IX., my son, and first president of the parliament of Paris.]

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[z]

January 16, 1574.

Madame my good sister, I have kept silence so long, not on account of idleness or want of desire to remind you of myself and my affairs, or of availing myself of any pleasant opening to reinstate myself, in some part, in your good graces, but for fear of importuning you, since my letters have not latterly been thought worthy of a reply from you.

Meantime, I have written to M. de la Mothe, ambassador of the king (Henry III.), my good brother, entreating him to ascertain for me, what it is I can either suppress or amend, in my said letters, which will render them worthy of some favourable reply.

[y] Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris; Dupuy Collection, No. 509.
[z] MS. Cottonian, Calig., b. viii. f. 329.

On this he has not thrown any light; but, according to what he knows, he has promised me much from your goodnature towards me, advising me to make proof of the same, and to entreat you in my letters to hold me in remembrance.

It is from this cause I am emboldened at this present to implore that you will reply to my former requests, and to those that M. de la Mothe will make you on my part; or better make me understand, from yourself, how I ought to act, in order to obtain more affectionate treatment from you.

Meanwhile, may God inspire you to put an end to my long troubles, that you may give me occasion to consider myself as your obliged and affectionate friend, as well as your nearest relation. And not to tire you with a too prolix discourse, I have ventured to take this time, to particularize more the affection I have for you; praying that this step of applying to you may not bring me into any trouble, and that M. de la Mothe may not in vain have made me undertake to re-commence my long-accustomed habit of writing to you, but that I may soon have occasion, by your gracious and much desired reply, to thank him for his good advice; and that by your writing more amply at some other time, I shall no more find your ear deaf to my offers and entreaties; therefore, after kissing your hands, I make humble supplication

to God, that He will give you, madame, with health, a very happy and long life. From Sheffield, this 16 January.

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

The Queen of Scots to the Duchess of Nemours.[a]

January 22, 1574.

My aunt,—If you have ever thought otherwise, save than that I am very glad to hear your good news, and that I am continuing in your good graces, you will have done me great wrong. By the honour and respect that I owe to you, which I shall feel during my whole life, I entreat you, for the future, to hold me in sufficient esteem as to suppose that it will always be the greatest pleasure to me to hear of your prosperity, and that of my cousin, M. de Nemours, and of your little ones, my cousins,[b] who are also as dear to me as their own brothers, my cousins of Guise.

You can easily judge whether poor prisoners are glad to be remembered by their own friends and relations, especially when they are not permitted to write on all occasions as much as they would wish; even at present I am much hurried

[a] Bethune MS., No. 9126. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Autograph.

[b] These were the children of the Duke of Nemours; and his duchess being the widow of Francis, Duke of Guise, her children by Nemours were brothers, by the half blood, to Henry Duke of Guise and Charles de Guise, Mary's first cousins.

to write, before the departure of the Sieur de la Mothe from London. I can tell you nothing, save of the evils I endure here; I feel part of those that you have on your side; may God please to bring them to a close, and I will put an end to this present, after having kissed the hands of my cousin M. de Nemours, and yours; and having prayed you to show all favours to this bearer, for love of me, I pray God, my aunt, that He will give you a long and happy life.

From Sheffield, the 22nd of January.

Your very obedient and affectionate good niece,

MARIE.

Death-bed Confession of the Earl of Bothwell.[s]

The confession of my Lord Bothwell before he died, in presence of divers lords of Denmark, (being more long in Latin and Danish). The lords present, were these: Baron Cowes, of Malinge Castle; Otta Brawe, of Clisinbrouche Castle; Monsieur Gullione Starne, of Fowltostic Castle; the Bishop of Skonen, and four bailies of the town, who desired him that he would declare his conscience, and say nothing but the

[s] MS. Cottonian, Titus, c. vii. fol. 39, b. The Danish names seem strangely spelled in this paper. The *king* means, Darnley, the *queen*, Mary Stuart, but who the *child* is, appears dubious, for if meant for James, the term would be *prince*. It is possible the inquiry was made concerning the infant some have asserted that Mary had by Bothwell.

truth concerning the king and queen of Scotland, with the child.

Imprimis, he did take it upon his death, that the queen never knew nor consented to the death of the king, but he and his friends, by his appointment, divers lords consenting, and subscribing thereunto, which yet was not there present at the deed doing. Their names be Lord Jamy E. of Murray, Lord Morton, Lord Robert, the Bishop of St. Andrews, with divers others, whom he said he could not remember at that present.

Likewise, he said, that all the friendship which he had of the queen, he got always by witchcraft,[d] and the inventions belonging thereunto, specially by the use of sweet water, and

[d] It must always be remembered, that although the crime of witchcraft cannot be committed, it may be attempted with intentions fully as guilty as if successful. Bothwell had been trying tricks of this kind from his boyhood. (See the succeeding letter of La Mothe). He believed, as the whole of his auditors did, that his magical schemes were not only guilty in intention, but mischievous in effect; therefore it ought not to excite surprise that he acknowledged his magic with his murders and other crimes. There is no doubt that he had tried schemes to bewitch the queen and other women; therefore this confession of magic, so true to the costume and manners of his era, does not invalidate the rest of the facts contained in the statement, it merely proves that he made a mistake as to cause and effect. He supposed his power over the queen was the effect of his incantations, because he was turned of fifty, coarse and ugly, when his power really proceeded from his long habit of command, and that personal audacity often successful in partizan warriors.

that he found means to put away his own wife, to obtain the queen.

Likewise he confessed that he had deceived divers gentlewomen in France, and in England, with many other wild facts and deeds, which he said were long to rehearse, asking God forgiveness thereof. Furthermore, he confessed that he took two lords' daughters out of Denmark into Scotland, and made them believe that he would marry them, and likewise ruined many gentlewomen of Scotland. Item, he did confess that he had deceived two of the burgomaster's daughters of Lubeck, with many like, which he said were long to rehearse, and forgave all the world, and was sorrowful for his offences, and did receive the sacrament, that all the things he spoke were true, and so he died.

(No date.)

Queen Mary to her Ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgow.[*]

June 1, 1576.

(Extract of the deciphering of her letter).

I have advice of the death of the Earl of Bothwell, and how that, before he died, he made an ample confession of all his sins; and among the rest, that he owned himself to have been the author, and in fact, likewise guilty of the murder

[*] Keith's Scotland, b. ii., app. p. 142.

of the late king my husband: and in terms most express, nay, upon the very damnation of his soul, declared me innocent thereof. If this be the real truth, you may easily discern the advantage it would be to me in defeating the false calumnies of my enemies. I pray, you, therefore, try all means to come into the precise knowledge of this fact. I am told that the persons who assisted at the emitting this declaration, and which was afterwards signed and sealed by them in form of a testament, were Otto Braw, of the Castle of Cambre; Piers Braw, of the Castle of Vascut; Mr. Gullenstearn, of the Castle of Fulkenstere; the Bishop of Skonen, and four bailiffs of the town.[1]

[1] It will be observed, that the account the poor queen had received, from report, of this confession, a little varies from the narrative preceding, which was not the original document. It deserves remark, that the King of Denmark and all the witnesses were Protestants, that it was a Protestant bishop who was one of the witnesses, and that Catholicism was a capital crime in Denmark: therefore it was by no means a probable circumstance that so many Protestants should join to perjure themselves to clear the reputation of a Catholic princess, who had been so far from flattering the King of Denmark, or his state, that she refused to consent to her son's alliance with his daughter, because he was only an elective king. (See the Appendix, her conversation with Sommer). The King of Denmark had, besides, joined Queen Elizabeth and the government of Scotland in a Protestant league to support their religion against the Catholic alliances. He was, however, a just man, and sent notice of Bothwell's dying confession to every prince in Europe; more especially he sent it to Queen Elizabeth, who as carefully suppressed it. As all Europe rung with it when it was publicly used in Scotland as evidence against the Earl of Morton, one of the murderers, if it had been

La Mothe Fenelon to Catherine de Medicis, Queen Mother.[x]

"Truly it is believed by those of the queen's side, that these letters are false, and that those seen are suppositious and counterfeited; and that since their malice and subtlety has been great enough to dispossess a rightful queen of her crown, they would not stand at counterfeiting

fabricated (as party Scotch writers say it was), how came the Protestant king and prelate of Denmark not to deny it? In the other statement of Bothwell published, (vol. ii.), it will be observed, that at his first capture he was ready enough to accuse every body besides himself, except the queen. By the above statement it appears he continued a course of crime, even after his captivity in Denmark. But at the time of this last confession, he knew he must die, and it was of no use tampering with eternity. The original document was to be seen in the beginning of this century, as the following notice affirms in Mr. Hamilton's Observations on Buchanan. "An authentic copy of the confession of Bothwell is extant, and to be seen in St. James's Library in London; it is signed by the governor of the Castle of Melling; by Guilla Brome, governor of the Castle of Altenburgh; Pierrie Braue, of the Castle of Neswell; by Guillim Strance, by the Bishop of Skonen, and five bailiffs. Bothwell declared that Queen Mary did never give consent to her husband's death, or was privy thereto, as he should answer to the eternal God. And being asked the question, 'Who were the contrivers of the murder?' he answered, 'Murray the Bastard was the first proposer, but Morton laid the plot, and *I* accomplished it.' For which he begged God's pardon, and expired."

This document, which exists undoubtedly in some of our archives, is not yet properly brought to light; for our transcript from the Cottonian, printed above, is evidently only an abstract of it, as the account by Mr. Hamilton, just quoted, is but a report from memory from a view of it.

[x] Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. i. 1569. By "these letters," he means the forged love-letters from Mary to Bothwell. See Appendix.

her hand; and they also alledge, that should their queen have done anything of the kind, she never would have done it, excepting under the magic compulsion and sorcery of the Earl of Bothwell, as he knew well that trade, having made it his greatest occupation from the time he was at school, to read and study books of necromancy and forbidden magic."[h]

The Queen of Scots to the Duchess of Nevers.

Feb. 28, 1577.

My cousin,—My ambassador, the Bishop of Glasgow,[i] having informed me of the remem-

[h] It is a curious trait in the history of witchcraft and magic, that forgery as well as poisoning was part of that dark profession, and we suspect that in the unlearned ages forgery was a very frequent and mischievous crime; it was visited with severe penal laws, just the same as when witchcraft was accompanied with poisoning. When that disgrace to chivalry, Count Robert of Artois, cousin to Philip of Valois, King of France, fled to Edward III., and instigated him to invade France, it was because he had been banished his native country for very extensive and daring forgeries of deeds to estates; and after his flight, a fair and learned girl—either a nun or brought up in conventual learning—was burnt alive for having been the agent of effecting the forgeries. But, in the true spirit of those barbarous ages, her judges could not believe she forged the deeds for Count Robert with the perverted industry of her pen; *that* was a feat they believed beyond the power of any girl to perform, but supposed she was allied with certain literary fiends who performed for her benefit this piece of penmanship, and for putting the pens of the said fiends into such mischievous requisition was the unfortunate forgeress burnt at Paris.

[i] The Archbishop of Glasgow (who being forced to remain in exile at Paris, the poor captive still called *her* ambassador) had

brance you still cherish of our ancient friendship, and the care with which you always inquire news of me, I would not fail, by these few words, to thank you for it, and to testify the great satisfaction it has given me. I pray you, then, that our early intercourse be renewed, and occasionally impart to me news of yourself, and love me as I promise to love you.

At this time, not having much leisure, I will not tire you with a longer letter, but entreat you to give my affectionate remembrances to my cousin your husband, M. de Nevers, and, while taking your due share, I pray God to keep you, my cousin, in health and long and happy life.

From Sheffield, this last of February.[k]

Your very affectionate cousin and ancient friend,

MARIE.

mentioned the kind inquiries of an early friend whom Mary had known in her childhood, when they had taken sweet council together. A chord was touched which responded pleasantly in her bosom, and she wrote this pretty affectionate billet on the spur of the moment.

[k] Bibliothèque du Roi. Bethune Col. MS. No. 8702. The yearly date ranges between 1577 and 1584, but it is too cheerful for the latter epoch.

The Queen of Scots to the Duchess of Nemours (late Duchess of Guise.)[1]

May 26, 1577.

My aunt,—I am much concerned to hear, by my chancellor, present bearer, that you are ill, otherwise I had hoped you would have imparted your good news, and those of my uncle, Monsieur de Nemours; I entreat that you will do so the first convenient opportunity that you may have. Meantime, let me always continue in your good graces, as one who desires to obey you, and who respects you like a good niece.

In all things, I pray you give credence to this bearer, who will give you a full account of our news here, and especially of my health, which, since a year or more, has been very bad, but now begins a little to amend; and, not to tire you without a better subject, I will pray God to give you, my aunt, in health, a very happy and long life.

From Sheffield, this 26th of May.

Your very obedient and affectionate good niece,

MARIE.

[Endorsed, To my aunt, Madame la Duchesse de Nemours.]

Bethune MS., No. 9126. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Autograph.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Nemours.[m]

July 22, 1577.

My cousin,—Well do I know that my letters can only serve to tire those who receive them, so little good here have I to write of; yet having so favourable an opportunity as by the Sieur de Poigni, present bearer, I will not fail to send you these few words, to recal myself to your good grace and all my affairs, the state of which you have rendered better and more secure, witness my handwriting, the which I would draw to a close; but first, I must thank you for your great favour and courtesy to a poor afflicted widow,[n] who has the honour of being your ally, and one whom I have always loved as much as one friend can love another; not but what I know that the relations of the late M. de Martigues have no need of any one to bespeak your kindness; but I received so much good from him, that I cannot do less than write to you, praying you to continue to be favourable to his daughter, who is my god-daughter. And in recompense, after having recommended myself, with a very good heart, to you, I will pray to God to give you, my cousin, in health

[m] Bethune MS. No. 9126. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Autograph.

[n] The widow of M. de Martigues.

a long and happy life. From Chatsworth, this 22nd of July.

Your very affectionate and good cousin,

MARIE.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Nemours.[o]

July 31, 1577.

My cousin,—I have received your kind and courteous letter with great satisfaction, for the testimony it affords me that my long adversity has not had the power of bereaving me of your goodwill, which has always been manifested towards me, as one of my best friends and relatives whenever an opportunity presented itself; therefore I will not neglect an offer from you of like aid, and supplicate you to stand my friend at present in the affair of my duchy of Tourraine, which they[p] are taking from me, and that you will give me and my people favour and counsel as to the acceptance of the exchange they will offer me; so that I may not suffer by it any very great loss. You know enough of the state in which I am here, to suppose I have no need of hard treatment there (*i. e.* in France).

I will say no more on this head, except to pray

[o] MS. Bethune, No. 8702. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

[p] The French government; it was part of her dower, as widow of Francis II.

you to perform the office of my good friend; my ambassador[q] will tell you all about the business.

As to my health, this bearer will inform you regarding it, which will prevent me from further wearying you; therefore, after commending myself, with a very warm heart, to your good graces, and praying God that he will give you, my cousin, in health a long and happy life. From Sheffield, this last day of July.

Your very affectionate good cousin,

MARIE.

The Queen of Scots to her Ambassador in France, the Archbishop of Glasgow.[r]

May 2, 1578.

The Countess of Lenox, my mother-in-law, died about a month ago; and the Queen of England has taken into her care her ladyship's granddaughter. [This, no doubt, is the Lady Arabella Stuart, only child to Charles Earl of Lenox, who died anno 1576.] I would desire those who are about my son to make instances in his name for this succession; not for any desire I have that he should actually succeed unto it, but rather to testify, that neither he, nor I, ought to be reputed or treated as foreigners in England, who

[q] Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, resident in France.

[r] Keith's History of Scotland, Appendix, p. 145.

are born within the same isle. This good lady was, thanks to God, in very good correspondence with me these five or six years bygone, and has confessed to me, by sundry letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, the injury she did me by the unjust pursuits, which she allowed to go out against me in her name, through bad information; but principally, she said, through the express orders of the Queen of England, and the persuasion of her council, who also took much solicitude that she and I might never come to good understanding together. But as soon as she came to know of my innocence, she desisted from any further pursuit against me; nay, went so far as to refuse her consent to anything they should set against me in her name.

The Queen of Scots to Marshal de Cossé.[1]

Oct. 3, 1580.

Monsieur le Maréschal,—The honour that I had of being brought up with and closely allied to your king, seems sufficiently to authorise me to recommend my present estate to you, and all others his good and faithful councillors, in a cause both just and reasonable, being no other than the preservation of my dower. I pray you

[1] MS. Bethune, No. 9126. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

then, on this consideration, to aid me by your credit and favour against Monsieur le Duc, my brother-in-law, (*Francis Duke of Alençon*). The remonstrances that I have given charge to my council to make to you about my wood of Espernay, and the trouble I have received in the peaceable enjoyment of it, from the Sieur de Rosni,[u] under the name of the said duke. I never was proceeded with in this fashion till I was deprived of my duchy of Tourraine.

Nevertheless I will hope, that, being better informed by you of this affair, he will redress the wrong he has there done to me.

Offering you, in recompense, all the good I can do for you and yours in this place, with the same earnestness with which I pray God, Monsieur le Maréschal, to have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

From the Castle of Sheffield this 3rd of October, (supposed 1580).

Your entirely good friend,

MARIE R.

[u] It is to be feared this was the renowned Maximillian de Bethune, Sieur de Rosni, and afterwards the prime minister of Henry the Great, and well known as the Duc de Sully; for it may be seen in the first volume of his Memoirs, that he had entered into the service of the Duke of Alençon, though he hated him heartily. Perhaps he was not loth to annoy the Queen of Scots, who was a warm ally of the house of Guise.

James VI., King of Scotland, to his mother, the Queen.[x]

January 29, 1580-1.

Madame,—I entreat you, very humbly, to believe that it was not according to my goodwill that your secretary returned without giving me your letter, or letting me hear what it was you had commanded him to tell me, having felt much regret at what has happened about him, for I should be infinitely vexed, if it could be believed that I did not bear towards you the honour and duty which I owe to you, having hope that, with time, God will give me grace to offer you my good and loving service, knowing well enough, that all the honour I have in this world I hold from you.

I received the ring it pleased you to send me, which I will take great care of in honour of you; and I send you another, which I very humbly entreat you to receive from me with as good a heart as I took yours. You have made it appear very plainly, by your last letter, how good a mother you are. If you should learn any more of that which I have just begun, you are entreated very humbly, to apprise me of it, that I may take order to do the best that will be possible for me to effect; let us hear this by the Earl of Lenox.

[x] State Paper MS., edited in the original French, (Retrospective Review, New Series). The postcript regarding the little ape is in James s own hand; he was fourteen years of age.

We also supplicate you to be aiding, and to give me your good counsel and advice, the which I will entirely follow. Deem it most certain, that in all things on which it will please you to command me, you will find me your very obedient son. Kissing your hands most humbly, and praying to God to preserve you, I am your obedient son for ever,

JACQUES R.

Madame, I commend to you the fidelity of my little ape,[y] who never stirs from near me. I will often send you news of us, (*i.e.* of him and his ape).

To the Queen of Scotland, my very honored dame.

[y] It is supposed Mary had sent this creature to her son, yet the extreme jealousy, with which all communication between the mother and son, was regarded by Elizabeth on her side, and the Scotch Calvinists on his, and which rendered even the conveyance of a ring and a letter difficult, is rather against such a supposition. It is quite apparent by this letter, that Mary's secretary could not obtain access to the young king to deliver the letter and token to which this is an answer, and it is very certain that this very letter found its way into Elizabeth's State Paper Office, where it is now, instead of into the hands of the poor mother, who was longing for it. It is probable that James, when told to add some words in his own hand to his mother, like any other schoolboy, wrote what was nearest to his heart, being the demeanour of his favorite animal. If the generalizing histories of Scotland written in the last century are opened, who can refrain from derision, when, at a date parallel to this letter, grave reprobation of the young king is found for the political mischief he did by the preference he bestowed on his favourites!! meaning, by the poor boy's favourites, fierce grown-up men, chiefs

The Queen of Scots to the Duchess of Nemours.[1]

Nov. 6, 1581.

My aunt,—It is now a long time since I have commended myself to your good grace, not because I desired not its continuance, but because of being so closely searched, by their finding amiss the thickness of my packets, and the number of my letters, telling me that I write to too many people, and that I have but too much intelligence; it may be well if they do not open all, and retain those that they chuse, but to my thinking, it vexes them as much that I remind any one that I am in this world, as that I am still there. It may be, as I am there, and you have power, that you will please to do a good turn to the estate[2] of a poor prisoner, who is captive

of struggling factions, earnestly employed in the laudable endeavour of cutting each other's throat. No doubt the friendless boy shrunk from the vicinity of his imputed favourites, expecting each in turn would prove his murderer, and consoled himself by caressing his real favourite, the faithful little ape "who would not leave him." Dates and documents overturn many a pompous falsehood; and, however simple the truth may be, it is far more consistent with common sense to find a kind-hearted boy of fourteen petting a little animal than troubling a state; no doubt the cunning politicians, who were contending for power, told the demi-barbarians, who bolstered their authority by force of arms, a great deal regarding their favour with the poor child, but that historians in a civilized century should lay any stress on the opinions of a boy of fourteen is too absurd!

[1] Bethune MS., No. 8702. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Autograph.

[2] Regarding her dowry in France, about which she was often in

and in adversity, but as much your niece as any you have belonging to you. This I supplicate you to do, and to impart to me your good news, and that of my uncle, Monsieur de Nemours, to whom I pray you to permit me to recommend myself here affectionately, and to all my cousins, your children, and having kissed your hands, I pray God to give you, my aunt, in health, a very long and happy life.

From Sheffield this 6th of November. 1582.

Your very affectionate and obedient good niece,

MARIE.

To the Duchess of Nemours, my aunt.

From Lord Seaton[b] *to the Queen of Scots.*[c]

Sept. 16, 1583.

Madame,—The 15th of this month, at the departure of the ambassador Walsingham, your son certified me that he is determined to send me to France, in all haste. I perceive that he is

trouble, and often beholden to the good offices of the Duke of Nemours.

[b] George, sixth Lord Seaton. See Queen Mary's opinion of this most faithful adherent, in her letter to the King of France from Carlisle. From the Imperial Library, St. Petersburgh.

[c] This letter was intercepted by Elizabeth, and decyphered by the decypherer, Philips (Sadler Papers, vol. ii., p. 374), from whose copy it is now translated. It never reached Queen Mary; but corroborates James's pathetic assertion respecting the deep poverty which prevented him from aiding his mother.

fully bent to pursue the league and amity of this kingdom (with France), and to follow in all things the council of the Duke de Guise, and complete the treaty began between you and him.

Meantime, if you will give proper directions for that, I deem your affairs will soon be brought well into port. The poverty of your son is so great, that he cannot put into execution the least part of his designs. Wherefore, I entreat you to hold the hand, for means and council, towards M. de Guise, and others, that he may be succoured. I am myself constrained to undertake this journey at my own expence, which I cannot well sustain, if your majesty aids me not; for the principal motive, which makes me undertake it is the advancement of your service. At the same time, I entreat that your majesty will make me understand in what particular manner your majesty desires I should employ myself there. Walsingham has been very ill received and entertained here.

I pray you, madame, answer me and send me intelligence with all speed.

From Seton, 16th September 1583.

SETON.[d]

[d] This nobleman was ambassador extraordinary to France from Scotland in 1583. (Sadler Papers, vol. ii., p. 374).

The King of Scots to the Queen his Mother.[a]

(Supposed date) 1583.

(Written in his seventeenth year).

Madame,—I am startled at receiving no answer from you, touching the articles that I sent you so long ago by our cousin of Lenox. At times I consider it proceeds from the troubles which have since prevailed in this country, of which I have, nevertheless, fully informed you, taking the opportunity by this ambassador, whom I sent to France to the king and our cousin of Guise. At all events, fail not, with as much diligence as possible, to send me your opinion on the said articles.

Be assured, that in all the adversities which I have sustained for love of you, I have never failed of, or been turned from my duty and affection towards you; but, on the contrary, it greatly increases and augments with every trouble which I have: always I would make appear to you that I know my duty to you, as much as any son in the world towards his mother.

Meantime, I pray you, without delay let me hear your opinion of the said articles, and at the same time employ me in aught I can do for your pleasure or service. At least, let me show you my goodwill; and if it pleases God to second our affairs and intentions, He will add also success. I

[a] Translated from the Sadler Papers, vol. ii., p. 374.

pray send to our cousin of Guise, that he will use all his power with our ambassador in our affairs. From Stirling, this 8th of November.

From your son,

JAMES.[f]

The Queen of Scots to her godchild the daughter of the Sieur de Mauvissière, Ambassador from the King of France.[g]

[g] Date unknown, but after 1574.

My child and *mignonne*,—I am glad to perceive in your letters, proof of the perfections with which God has endowed you in your early youth. Seek, mignonne, to know and serve Him who has given you such grace, and He will multiply blessings upon you. I earnestly implore that He will do so, and grant you His benediction. I send you a little token from a poor prisoner, to remind you of your godmother;[g] it is but a

[f] The unfortunate Mary never had the satisfaction of receiving this affectionate letter from her son; it was, with many more, intercepted and decyphered by the spies of Elizabeth, and remained enclosed among her state papers. The letters James VI. wrote were nearly all thus intercepted, and only served to furnish information to those whose interest it was to sow dissention between the mother and son. This was thoroughly effected the succeeding year, as we shall soon plainly show by Queen Mary's agonizing letters regarding what she considered the unnatural conduct of James.

[g] The original of this letter is to be seen in French in the Memoirs de Castlenau. Mary sends a message to this young lady, her god-daughter, March 9, 1585; it appears she was then in London with her father and mother.

trifle, but I send it you as a pledge of my affection for you and for your family. It was given me by the late king (Henry II.) my kind and revered father-in-law, while I was but young, and I have kept it to the present hour. Think of me kindly, and look upon me as a second mother, for so I would wish to be.

Your very affectionate,

MARIE.

Sheffield, January 26.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.[h]

February, 26, 1584.

I have been unable to reply to your letters in the usual manner, because I am informed that your house is surrounded day and night with spies, who watch every one that enters or comes out, and that all the agents of my correspondence with you have been discovered. Some suspect that your servants are bribed, and that is my own supposition; therefore I earnestly implore that you will permit none but your most trusted servants to communicate with the persons whom I may send to you. Do not let them communicate with those in your dwelling, but rendezvous in the city as if they encountered by accident. You

[h] MS. Harl. 1582. This letter very evidently fell into Burleigh's possession.

can easily appoint time and place, and keep it secret from every other person, or I shall not be able to find any agent who will dare to undertake our matters.

I have twice informed you minutely of the scandalous reports which have been circulated of my intimacy with the Earl of Shrewsbury; these have originated with no one but his good lady herself. If the Queen of England does not have this calumny cleared up, I shall be obliged openly to attack (probably meaning prosecute) the Countess of Shrewsbury herself. I have been restrained by two reasons from making use of the advantages I have over her (the countess), whenever I choose to make known to the Queen of England and her councillors how she has behaved to me, and in respect to me, regarding the Earl of Leicester and other noblemen in this kingdom.

Firstly, I will preserve my reputation for good faith and firmness in the opinion of all my partizans, shewing that I do not readily accuse them even when they turn against me, and do not act against them, excepting in the last extremity.[1]

[1] The MS. is here illegible, but this seems her meaning. This letter and the succeeding one appears to have given rise to the fabrication of the extraordinary one full of accusations against the Countess of Shrewsbury, printed in the Murdin Papers. No person who was as considerate, as Mary appears in this letter, would have written the other.

Secondly. If I accuse that wretched woman of the various arrogant speeches and intrigues against the queen (Elizabeth), myself, and some of the nobility of this realm, I apprehend, lest her husband might be injured; besides, I might be strangely reflected on for listening to such particulars. Altogether, I am afraid lest those who disclosed them to me, if not called to account, may remain objects of suspicion. Yet whatever may befal, there is nothing that I would not venture to clear my honour, which, to say nothing of my exalted station, is more precious to me than a thousand lives.

Most earnestly I entreat you to pursue diligently all means to extirpate this infamous calumny, that I may obtain full satisfaction by public notice throughout the whole kingdom (which you are especially to insist on), or by the exemplary punishment of the authors of the scandal. Should you be called on to name these, answer "Charles and William Cavendish[k], incited thereto by the Countess of Shrewsbury;" or require at least, that they may be examined on this matter.

[k] The sons of the Countess of Shrewsbury by a former husband, and brothers of her daughter, Lady Elizabeth, wife of Lord Charles Lenox, and uncles to his little daughter, Lady Arabella Stuart, whose interest, as heiress of the crown, they were upholding against the title of Mary, Queen of Scots.

One of the (privy) council, I know, in the presence of four or five persons of distinction, acknowledged that *they*[1] all believed the story to be false, but that its propagation was serviceable to prevent my marriage with the King of Spain, which God knows, neither I, nor probably that king, ever thought of.

All this confusion originates with Leicester and Walsingham, who (as I have been informed for a certainty) sent the Countess of Shrewsbury a copy of some lost letters which I had written to you.

It may not be unadvisable to complain to the queen (Elizabeth), as if you had learned these matters elsewhere, that the Countess of Shrewsbury is the enemy who has raised these false and scandalous tales, and that she is secretly instructed, advised and supported by men, who, were it only for the honour of the queen herself, as my near relative, ought to uphold mine no less than that of her own. For I cannot govern my affairs myself in a state of restraint, as if I had the liberty of speaking and acting.

You can likewise observe to the Earl of Leicester, as if the thought originated with yourself, and as your own advice, that if he is not more cautious, all this confusion will be ascribed to him, for all concerned in it are his domestics,

[1] Meaning probably, by *they*, the privy council.

or dependants, among whom, you may safely say, that you have heard that one named Laisseles (Lascelles), and another named Topliffe (probably Topcliffe), have entered into a very close understanding with the Countess of Shrewsbury and her children.[m] If he (Leicester) would have me conceive a good opinion of him, and of the renewal of his promises, which you mention in your last letter, he must confirm such by his deeds, and remove every appearance to the contrary, which arises from the conduct of his dependants and servitors. Nay, were it practicable, I should not be sorry if you said to him plainly, "that he seemed rather to wish to be considered the chief of my enemies;" and so, by his conduct, he was generally taken to be, not only by my son (King James), and my relations and friends in Christendom, but by my adherents in this realm, from whose minds I have endeavoured to remove, as far as in me lies, their suspicions and bad opinion of him.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, I understand, is more than ever resolved to visit the court, in order to inquire into the accusations of his enemies; I

[m] Evidently the Cavendishes, whose interest was connected with the rights of Lady Arabella (their niece) to the English crown, as the next in blood to Mary and James VI.

doubt not he will prove his innocence, to their confusion and his own honour.

Should, however, anything be said of removing me from this place, you are decidedly to oppose it, partly for the security of my life, which the king, my good brother,[n] cannot hold to be secure in any other hands; and partly because, after the scandalous report spread concerning me and the earl, a removal from hence would tend to my dishonour.

You may safely intrust your letter to the bearer of this. Write to me as often as possible, how affairs go on. With respect to M. de la Tour, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Henry Howard,[o] I hope God will preserve them, by

[n] Henry III. of France, that is, Mary prompts his ambassador to say, as if from Henry III., that he only considers her life secure in the guardianship of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

[o] Camden offers a valuable illustration on Mary's letter, though he knew not of its existence, see his Life of Elizabeth, p. 497.—White Kennet's edition.

"Counterfeit letters were now sent privately in the name of the Queen of Scots, and left at the Papists' houses, and then spies were sent up and down the country to take notice of their discourse and lay hold of their words. Hereupon many were brought into suspicion, and among the rest Henry, Earl of Northumberland. Philip, Earl of Arundel, the eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk, was confined to his own house, and his wife committed prisoner to Sir Thomas Shirley's house. Lord William Howard, (the celebrated Belted Will,) Lord Henry Howard, (one the youngest son, the other brother

demonstrating their innocence. If you can come directly, or indirectly, at Throckmorton,[p] or Howard, (for with the third I have no sort of connection), assure them, in my name, that their affection, and the great suffering which they endure on my account, shall never be effaced from my heart, and that I take no less interest in them than one of their relatives could, and I pray to

to the beheaded Duke of Norfolk,) were several times examined relative to letters from the Queen of Scots, and from Lord Charles Paget." The Earl of Northumberland, who was fierce and untameable, shot himself through the heart with a loaded pistol, brought him to his prison in the Tower in a meat-pie. This suicide was to prevent his attainder and preserve his estate to his descendants, who now enjoy it. Before he did this act he was heard to exclaim, bestowing, at the same time, a canine appellation on Queen Elizabeth, which we will not repeat, "That she should not have his estate!"

He succeeded to his title and property on the execution of his brother Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, against whom he took so decided a part in the rebellion in the north, raised in 1569 for the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion and the liberation of Mary, Queen of Scots, that Earl Thomas, an ignorant but sincere man, said before he laid his head on the block, "Simple Thom must be headed to make way for cruel Henry."—See Sir Cuthbert Sharpe's valuable History of the Northern Rebellion.

Yet here we see the same Henry following the steps of the victim, and dying violently in the same cause, but by his own desperate hand. Queen Elizabeth and her ministers had the credit of murdering Earl Henry in the Tower, which was just what he intended. His example was avowedly followed by the Earl of Essex in the time of Charles II. As to Lord Arundel, his imprisonment only ended with his life, but Belted Will, his brother, and Lord Henry Howard escaped with better fortune.

[p] See Summary of Life, January 1st, 1584, vol. 2.

God that He will enable me one day worthily to reward them.

Sheffield, 26th of February, 1584.

P.S. I earnestly entreat you to keep all this a profound secret, in order that the ambassador[q] may not perceive anything of it, for I would not for all the treasures in the world that it should be discovered, on account of the disgrace it would bring on me. Yea, and not merely the disgrace, but my life depends on it, which, however, I care not for equal to the disgrace, since I must die at all events.

[The scandal to which Queen Mary refers in this letter is best explained by the following notice,[r] in a letter of Serjeant Fleetwood, by which it appears, that the punishment she so earnestly demanded might be wreaked on her slanderers, fell upon an obscure knot of suburban gossips at Islington, persons far enough removed from the elevated circles in which the report was concocted. "At this sessions, Michaelmas, 1584, one Cople and one Baldwin, my Lord of Shrewsbury's agents, required of me that they might be suffered to in-

[q] It is difficult to discover who the ambassador is whose knowledge she dreads; she is here writing confidentially to the French ambassador. Perhaps it was the Scotch ambassador.

[r] Queen Elizabeth and her Times. By T. Wright, Esq., vol. ii., p. 241. Letter of Serjeant Fleetwood.

dict one Walmesley, an innkeeper at Islington, for *scandilatum* of my Lord of Shrewsbury their master."

The effect of it all was, that the innkeeper Walmesley had told his guests openly at table, "that the Earl of Shrewsbury had had a child by the Scottish queen, and that he knew where this child was christened; further adding, that Lord Shrewsbury would never be permitted to go home to his own country again." "An indictment," adds Fleetwood, was "drawn by the clerk of the peace, the which I thought good not to have published, or that evidence should be given openly, and therefore I caused the jury to go into a chamber, and heard the evidence given, among whom, one Merideth Hammer, a doctor of divinity, and vicar of Islington, had dealt as evilly towards Lord Shrewsbury as the innkeeper Walmesley. This doctor regardeth not an oath, surely he is a very bad man; but in the end the indictment was indorsed *bill vera* (true bill)." Here, however, is an end of the whole *scandilatum magnatum*, for Serjeant Fleetwood speaks no more of the matter in his succeeding letters.

There is in the state paper office a declaration by the Countess of Shrewsbury and her sons, declaring they considered the reports relative to the Queen of Scots having had two children by the Earl of Shrewsbury, false, scandalous, and mali-

cious, and that they were not the authors of the said reports.]

The Queen of Scots to Lord Burleigh.[s]

March 2, 1584.

I shall send an ambassador to Scotland to come to a final decision with my son. This treaty is the only thing in this world which can ease me either in body or mind; for I feel so depressed by my seventeen years' captivity, I can bear it no longer. Again I earnestly entreat that an end may be put to it before I die a lingering death.

I am greatly obliged to the queen, my good sister, for the care she is now pleased to take for my honourable treatment, but nothing is done without the sixteen horses,[t] which I have asked for, without them I am shut up, and cannot enjoy the fresh air to recover or preserve my health, as those who have hitherto guarded me can testify.

I must trouble you with another matter, namely,

[s] MS. Harleian, 4651, p. 138. According to the desire of Mauvissière, Mary wrote to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, making known some of her requests, great and little, comprising, at the same time, the commencement of the treaty of arbitration between England, France, and Scotland, for her restoration to her crown and to liberty, and—a supply of groceries from the next town.

[t] Mary never was suffered to ride out or take the air without being surrounded by a mounted guard; and when horses were not provided for a sufficient number, she was restrained from exercise. (See Shrewsbury Correspondence, vol. ii., Lodge's Illustrations, many passages).

that my servants may be permitted to purchase grocery and other articles for me in the neighbouring town, under a sufficient guard, because I cannot always have at hand such like trifles when I want them.

[The letter of Mary, Queen of Scots, now following in chronological order, deserves great attention, because, with that of the previous 26th of February, some analogy seems to exist relative to the extraordinary scandal-letter on Queen Elizabeth, purporting to be by Mary, Queen of Scots, which is printed in French in that portion of Lord Burleigh's correspondence called the Murdin State Papers. That letter details all the scandals on Queen Elizabeth which ostensibly were narrated by the Countess of Shrewsbury to the Queen of Scots during the early years of her captivity, when the closest intimacy was maintained between them. The scandal-letter is, however, so different in its style and contents from any undoubted specimen of Mary's pen, that its authenticity has been greatly doubted by most historians. A most improbable story, too, was repeated by Carte relative to the discovery of the scandal-letter, as for instance, that it was found rolled up in woollen, and buried in a stone chest in the garden at Hatfield, two feet from the surface, by which pro-

cess it would infallibly have been destroyed by damp in a very few weeks. From these dubious circumstances, as well as from the odious nature of its contents, the scandal-letter is not printed in this collection; yet, if a fabrication, it belongs undoubtedly to the times in which Mary lived.

From the following letter, and from the preceding one, it is evident that Mary wished to recriminate on the Countess of Shrewsbury the endeavours that lady had made to ruin her, from the moment of the birth of Lady Arabella Stuart. For this scion of the royal blood of England being, at the same time, grand-daughter to the ambitious Countess of Shrewsbury, and the third in degree to the English crown, the countess thought if Mary was destroyed, Arabella's chance was greater of the succession. Such appears the real cause of the enmity between Queen Mary and the Countess of Shrewsbury, and not jealousy of the earl, as Lady Shrewsbury affirmed. For of course such jealousy would have occurred before the birth of Arabella, when Queen Mary's beauty was brighter. It is certain these letters never reached their destination—to the hands of the French ambassador, but fell into the possession of Burleigh and Walsingham, who probably fabricated the scandal-letter, to make the breach wider between the house of Shrewsbury and the Queen of Scots;

for it is the opinion of most of our historical antiquaries, that Queen Elizabeth never saw the scandal-letter, or heard any of the representations which her unfortunate captive, in the present letters, prompts the French ambassador to pour into her ear against the Countess of Shrewsbury, as retaliation of the scandalous stories that lady had levelled against her reputation. Moreover, the accusations Mary Queen of Scots wished to communicate to Elizabeth against her inimical hostess, were former plans and treasons in her favour, before the birth of a grand-daughter of royal blood turned the current of interest against Mary's title to the throne. It is evident by an existing document that Nau, Mary's confidential secretary, was recommended by Elizabeth, and was too probably the creature of her ministers; therefore, no person can wonder that Queen Mary's letters were constantly betrayed and intercepted years before her final tragedy.]

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.[a]

"March 21, 1583.

Monsieur de Mauvissière,—As I shall write to you by the usual channel more fully to-morrow,

[a] MS. Harleian, 1582, fol 313. Both Raumer and Mademoiselle de Keralio have edited this letter.

respecting what the Earl of Shrewsbury has signified to me in the name of the Queen of England and his mistress, it will suffice to send you to-day a copy of my answer to the earl. You must now do your utmost to get leave to go to Scotland, and take with you a plenipotentiary from the Queen of England, and one from me. I have been unwilling to write too urgently myself on the subject, not to excite suspicion, and give ground for a refusal; but if any one is to intervene in the name of my good brother the King of France in any treaty between the Queen of England and myself, I desire that it may be you, as you are so much better acquainted than any other person with all the circumstances between us.

I assure you, on my word and honour, that if the Queen of England would act sincerely towards my son and me, and give us the necessary securities for our preservation, I would be the first to oppose, for instance, even my own son, if he should wrongfully, and, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, undertake anything against her; so far am I from intending, (after the conclusion of an equitable treaty,) not to restrain my ministers from all enterprises which might tend to the prejudice of Elizabeth and her realm; but, as I lately wrote to you, I fear that the partizans

of my *good* neighbour the Earl of Huntingdon[x], will never permit any kind of friendship betwixt us, as they would then have less power and ability to ruin us, which I believe to be their design.

To leave this frequently-discussed matter, I entreat that you will more distinctly show to Queen Elizabeth, the treachery of my honorable hostess, the Countess of Shrewsbury. I would wish you to mention, privately to the queen, (obtaining, if possible, her promise neither to communicate it to any one, nor make any further enquiry,) that nothing has alienated the Countess of Shrewsbury from me, but the vain hope which she has conceived, of setting the crown of England on the head of her little girl Arabella,[y] and this by means of marrying her to a son of the Earl of Leicester. These children are also educated in this idea; and their portraits have been sent to each other.[z] But for the notion of raising one of her descendants to the rank of queen, she

[x] Alluding to Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, as a formidable competitor for the throne, as the representative of George, Duke of Clarence.

[y] Lady Arabella Stuart, the grand-daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury, by her daughter, Elizabeth Cavendish, wife of Lord Charles Lenox, brother of Darnley.

[z] His little son Robert, by Lettice, Countess of Leicester, who died soon after. It was a curious idea to exchange portraits between these infants; it shows how these juvenile engagements were carried on between the little lovers.

would never have so turned away from me, for she was so entirely bound to me, and regardless of any other duty or regard, that if God himself had been her queen, she could not have showed more devotion than to me. Say to the queen, that you heard from Mademoiselle Seton* (who went to France last summer), that I was given a solemn promise from the Countess of Shrewsbury, that if ever my life should be in danger, or orders given to remove me to another place, she would find means for my escape; and, being a woman, she should easily avoid all peril of punishment. That her son, Charles Cavendish, she assured me, in his presence, resided for no other purpose in London, but to acquaint me with everything that passed there; and that he had constantly two swift horses ready to communicate to me as soon as it occurred, the death of Queen Elizabeth, who was at that time ill. That Walsingham had invited the Earl of Huntingdon to hasten to London, with which proposal he had immediately complied.

The countess, as well as her son, Charles Cavendish, at that time took all possible pains to convince me, that in the hands of (her husband) the Earl of Shrewsbury I was in the greatest

* Mary had a fair damsel of the name of Seaton as her attendant long after her sojourn in England, not the Kate Seaton of Sir Walter Scott, for her name was Mary.

possible danger, for he would deliver me into the hands of my enemies, or suffer them to surprise me; so that I should be in a very bad condition without the aid of the said countess (of Shrewsbury).

At this time, I will send you only these little instances, that the Queen of England may judge of the rest, and see what has been carried on by the countess, regarding me, in past years. I could also, if I pleased, bring her into great trouble, as her people have, by her express orders, brought me cyphers, and she has also delivered me some with her own hands. It will be sufficient if you tell the Queen of England that you heard these particulars from Mademoiselle Seton, and that you were convinced, that if she would cause me to be asked, quietly and privately, about the conduct of the Countess of Shrewsbury, I could disclose to her things of much greater importance, and in which several of those about her would be deeply implicated.

However, prevail upon her to keep this secret, and never to mention your name. Say that you have been induced to make this communication from the interest you take in her welfare; and that she may know what confidence is to be placed in the Countess of Shrewsbury, add, that you are firmly persuaded the said countess could

be gained by me whenever I pleased, with a bribe of 2000 crowns.

You have done me a kindness by sending copies of my letters to France and Scotland, in order that the truth of these misunderstandings may be known, which, I am persuaded, arise from the countess, and her son Charles Cavendish. But the witnesses by whom I could prove this, fear to incur the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, therefore I am obliged to wait to come to a public enquiry and explanation, till I can find others.

I recommend to you, as far as possible, the unhappy De la Tour,[b] and all belonging to him. I daily lament their misfortune, and would willingly sacrifice a part of my blood to deliver them. Also, if you can find means of doing it, I would have you remit ten or twelve pounds sterling to Edward Moore in the Tower, for he is said to be in great distress.

I thank you for the intelligence you sent me respecting my son, for whose preservation I know no way of providing, but by the aid of the king

[b] This man is called Latour in history; he was suspected as an agent for Mary, Queen of Scots, sent to the Tower, and cruelly tortured by the ruthless Walsingham, till he confessed, not only what he had done, but whatever was demanded of him—such were the usual fruits of the diabolical system of torture, which was an infringement on the ancient laws of this country. (See the Works of Sir John Fortescue, the learned judge who wrote in the time of Henry VI.)

my good brother (Henry III.), and of my relations and my servants in France, to whose judgment I entirely refer as to doing whatever is needful. If 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* were distributed among the chief men in Scotland, they would be wonderfully confirmed in their loyalty; but hitherto I have not received one penny from the king, nor have been able to obtain leave from him to sell part of my estates. On the contrary, by the late costs and unjust proceedings, I have lost almost three-quarters of my marriage portion, but I trust God will not leave me thus distressed.

From Sheffield, March 21st, 1584.

A Gentleman of rank (name unknown) in the household of James VI. to Mary, Queen of Scots.[c]

April 12, 1584.

This letter to the Queen of Scots being intercepted by Elizabeth's spies, was sent to Mr. Sommer, one of Mary's castellans, that he might aid in guessing the persons alluded to in it, accompanied by the following letter from Walsingham:

[c] Sadler Papers, edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq., vol. ii., p. 375 to 379. It is here translated from the French, in which it was sent for the inspection of Queen Elizabeth, into whose hands it unfortunately fell. The intelligence respecting the invasion of England by the Duke of Guise, is alluded to by Mr. Sommer in his curious conversation with Mary, quoted at the end of this volume. Sommer had seen this letter.

Sir,—I send, by her majesty's commandment, a copy of a cypher (letter) sent out of Scotland unto the Queen of that realm (Mary). It hath been decyphered by Phillips, but not fully to her majesty's contentment. It is written in French, and is all in one letter, though in the decyphering paper, it may seem two. It should seem to be written in March last.[d] *The matter is of great weight, and therefore worthy of travail, which I recommend to your wonted good care. At the Court, the 22nd of April,* 1584.

Your assured friend,

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

Letter to the Queen of Scots.

Madame,—Necessity obliges me to endeavour most sedulously to renew the intelligence so long extinct between the king your son, and your majesty, the means of which, thanks to God, I have found by an honest Englishman, who will make himself known to your majesty by this letter, in which, I believe, he will testify the opinion he has of the king my master, who, having heard his tidings, was very glad to visit your majesty with these three or four lines[e] from his hand, as much

[d] A mistake of Walsingham's, since the writer dates it *ce deuxième d'Avril.*

[e] King James's letter to his mother, perhaps reached her, as it is not enclosed.

to assure your majesty of his obedience and filial affection, as to learn news of you by your reply; as also to testify how greatly his majesty approves of the design of M. de Guise, his cousin, touching his enterprise in England, the more so that he deems it will tend to the liberty of your majesty; which he considers far beyond any increase of greatness, and desires more than the utter freedom of his own person and state; both of which, truth to say, have been for these three months passed in very great danger. For his bad subjects, nurtured by the *good* Queen of England, seek daily some opportunity or other to get his person into their treacherous hands. This, we *others* (*i. e.* who are loyal), strive by all means to obviate. Altogether, our enemies are so vigilant, and the wicked ministers (*Calvinist preachers*) so careful to accomplish their intentions, that we consider the sole means against all these *machines* (machinations) of the Queen of England would be the achievement of the aforesaid enterprise. For his majesty (James) has deliberated to treat the person of his cousin as his own.

And the better to do so, as his majesty has had long experience of the counsel of Colonel Stuart,[1] his majesty has communicated to him the whole

[1] Colonel William Stuart was a kinsman of King James's, and commander of his guard of gentlemen; he was brave and faithful,

of this enterprise; and the said Colonel Stuart thinks higher of it than of thousands of other things in this world: because it will not only increase the grandeur of the king his master, but it will revenge on the Queen of England the breaking of all her fine promises last year, and withal tend to the service of your majesty.

In particular he has promised, as much as in him lies, the attestation of which I have sent you, written and subscribed by his hand. In truth, I advised the king to communicate this to him, because at present he can do more than any man in Scotland for the preservation of the person of his majesty, seeing that he is the captain of his guard. Besides, madame, the king has sounded for a long time those of his nobility, whom he esteems the most faithful, such as (Maxwell) Earl of Morton, Lord Herries, and Ogilvy, to whom he has communicated all, and the Sieur (Sir) Robert Melville. But to speak frankly of all the three to whom his majesty communicated the said enterprise, Colonel Stuart is the most vigilant and careful; for since he has known of it he has rejected all the idea that he had of any other.

but rather wild and rough in manner; yet he was far superior to his profligate and discreditable relative, Stuart, Earl of Arran, whom King James, or, rather, the dominant faction, had invested wrongfully with that title, which belonged, of right, to the house of Hamilton.

Madame, the gentleman of his majesty's guard that I have sent last to France, to monsieur your cousin (the Duke of Guise), is not yet heard of, neither any news of the money that I sent in quest of, for the payment of his (the king's) guard, if so be that his majesty is obliged to make a levy of three hundred soldiers to abide near his majesty, at all events. But, madame, as already said, there is no other remedy to deliver your majesty and the king your son from all peril than the success of these affairs about England, which induced his majesty to liberate and send William Hault, an Englishman made prisoner in the castle of Lisleburgh, to monsieur your cousin (the Duke of Guise), on these two principal points: to desire him to accelerate all things, because the Queen of England is about to kill the king your son by very extraordinary means, thinking thus to cut off and traverse the plans of La Mothe Fenelon ..... and of your cousin, monsieur the Duke of Guise; as for your majesty you are always at her mercy. The other occasion of the journey of this Englishman is, that M. de la Mothe Fenelon may, if possible, be sent again in embassy, and that the twenty thousand crowns may be delivered to him, which M. de Guise promised me, to raise soldiers at the time he makes

his preparations. For without doubt (his majesty's) bad subjects, and those colleagued with our preachers, as soon as they see the king and all his other subjects take up arms, will raise against them some new animadversion, such as, in time passed, used to be practised in your majesty's case; so that it is the more necessary that the aforesaid sum be sent with all diligence.

Madame, the king your son entreats you to take in hand to write, by the first opportunity, to monsieur your cousin, to make out whether it is not possible for the said M. la Mothe Fenelon to obtain the embassy? His majesty desires, affectionately, some of his cousins of the house of Guise may come to advise him at this time in all his actions, appearing merely as if they came to visit him; this they will agree to very willingly, if it will please your majesty to give your opinion in favour of it.

Madame, the king (James) commands me, on his part, to entreat you to take good care of your personal safety, that he may be aided by your advice at this time; for without the preservation of that, he will not be able to do aught for his great estate, or the increase of his grandeur, nor any other good that might happen to him in future. But of this your reply will assure him;

as also what you know of your friends in England, and how much you can depend on them, and hope for their aid.

Fearing, madame, that you are o'er-wearied by my discordant discourse, I supplicate your majesty to spare (excuse) him, who will never spare his life to perform his humble service to you, and who desires to give some ample proof of loyal intention in receiving your commandments, which I will obey also with faithful affection, as humbly as I pray God, madame, that he will give your majesty in very excellent health a long and prosperous life, with the accomplishment of all the projects you most desire. This twelfth of April,

From your majesty's very humble
And very obedient servant,
x :[g]

Private letter to the Queen of Scots, added by the writer of the above, as postcript, unknown to King James.

Madame,—In my letter I have omitted the principal point, not daring to show it to the king. There is here a gentleman, the Earl of Arran,[h]

[g] By this cypher, the name of the writer is indicated.

[h] Arran was James Stuart, second son of Lord Ochiltree, and was one of the instruments of Morton's fall. He was rewarded by the king—or rather by himself, for James was a mere boy—with the earldom and estate of the insane Earl of Arran, which he had previously got possession of, as guardian of that unfortunate nobleman's

and his wife. In them the king (James) confides more than in any other, yet he himself confesses that they are, as to you, very impudent. The said earl is a noted enemy to all Catholics in general, but to your majesty and all yours, especially, labouring always indirectly to impair the amity between your majesty and the king your son; for instance, a few days since, he practised, at the instigation of the Queen of England, regarding the marriage of the king your son and a daughter of the King of Sweden.

And on this he has had some *angelats*; which the king knows well himself; but in that, and in all other proceedings of this wicked man, the king is blind.

Wherefore, madame, as your majesty desires the preservation of his life, warn him to take better heed of the actions of this earl, and leave not everything to this *roisterer*, who is equally despised by the nobles and the people, as a man who, for his evil habits, is not at all desirable for the common weal. For the *bruit* (public report) runs, that his majesty is totally governed by his lies, and bewitched by the *diabelerie* of his wicked and audacious wife.[1]

person. His influence lasted scarcely two years, when another wild revolution, led by Patrick Gray, displaced him; he was forced, ultimately, to give up his usurped title, and died in great obscurity.

[1] The abducted Countess of March, a most infamous character.

Besides, madame, he (Arran) is master of the wardrobe; and there are some others of his majesty's chamber who have been put there by enemies, which the king will not alter for any advice of us others. It is needful, madame, that you write to him your opinion. Add your maternal authority, and make him believe that your majesty learns all this elsewhere.

I remain, waiting the reply of your majesty.

To Sir Francis Walsingham from Mr. Sommer.

Right Honorable,—Herewith I do return to you for her majesty (Elizabeth), the [de]cyphered letter you sent and brought me upon Thursday last by John Puttrell, messenger, and my little travail to make it somewhat plainer. By the discourse you shall find it cometh from a principal person about the Scottish king, as the Earl of Arran,[1] or Coronel Stuart. From a Scotsman

[1] It could not be Arran, because that person's character, so severely described in the secret postscript, has been identified by the general voice of history, public and private; and of course he did not draw this black portrait of his own conduct, which was far more infamous for debauchery and all vileness, than the indignant writer of this salutary warning to young James's mother has described. The guesses of Queen Elizabeth's ministers, as to the writer of this letter, were singularly unfortunate, for it is endorsed—"It was written by

it is, as his orthography and articles of the genders shew in many places, which in the extract I have only a little holpen, referring to her majesty, as you shall perceive by comparing Mr. Phillips' extract with this. As to the significative notes,[k] *some I have coted (quoted) in the end of this extract, the rest I leave to your judgment, who by further acquaintance can guess at them.*

the Master of Gray, by the king's (James's) commandment." But the subsequent conduct of that most treacherous of all poor Mary's enemies, is not in accordance with the tone that breathes in this postscript. It is no little honour to Mary to find Arran (to whose corrupting influence her son owed his tendency to inebriety, and all the ill in his disposition) in the ranks of her avowed enemies, while in the ranks of her friends, in the worst of times, we find the three admirable Melvilles, Protestants though they were, and those manly and devoted nobles, Herries, Fleming, and Seaton. From some gentleman in the king's household this despatch evidently came; even if Gray had been sufficiently friendly, he could not have been the writer, because the author of this letter seems a much older man.

[k] Merely his surmises as to the persons indicated by certain capitals and Greek letters in the cypher. Mr. Sommer was an honest-hearted country gentleman, who much desired to make peace between Elizabeth and her captive, which did not suit Walsingham and his party. The letter was not sent for his feeble aid in guessing state secrets, but merely to inflame his patriotism, with the idea of a Scotch and French invasion. This letter should be read in conjunction with Sommers' curious conversation with the captive queen, quoted in the supplementary portion of this volume, as they cast light on each other.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière,[1] Ambassador from Henry III. to England.

March 9, 1585.

Monsieur de Mauvissière,— Since my last was closed, I have received yours of . . . day of February, with the packet of my ambassador (Archbishop of Glasgow), which has in part removed the pain in which I was, for having been so long without receiving any letters from France. Now in the said packet I have found no letters from the people of my council (*for her dowry as queen-dowager of France*); if you have any, send them if you please, so that I may have them with diligence.

Meantime, I recommend to you again, and pray you most earnestly to insist on it, by all means, to obtain (leave) for your passage into Scotland, and to me, with the son of M. de Pinart,[m] since it has thus been resolved; and come with those delegated on the part of the Queen of England, madame my good sister; this being the true and only way of arranging with my son all things solidly, and to clear up all from

[1] Des Mesmes MS., No. 9513, tome iii. (99). Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

[m] Pinart was private secretary to Catherine de Medicis. Mary expected she should have been included in the treaty between her son and Elizabeth; in three days she was aware of her disappointment.

the very grounds, and to form a last deliberation to regulate the future. For who will proceed on a simple message such as I am constrained to send, if you go not there? Nor can you be denied, understanding as you do these affairs, else, I fear greatly that the whole will not come to the good end promised me on the one part and the other. And above all this, that you will send me word when the Justice-clerk is expected (from Scotland). I have made my request to the queen to let him come here to me, either going or returning; as much to have the consolation of hearing from him of the state of my son's health, as to inform him myself of the intentions I had regarding this treaty with my son. I pray you urge this, and send me the answer as soon as possible. And present two letters which I have written with my hand to the queen (Elizabeth), madame my good sister, for in them I have frankly informed her of the whole of my intention.

As to the incident which has occurred by the wretched and detestable Parry, I thank God infinitely, for the grace he has shown, in that, the said queen my good sister, has so happily discovered his hateful design, on which I congratulate her myself in my letters, yet I beg you do so yourself on my part, as I most sincerely do in my heart, relying on her wisdom, if from this,

any of my enemies should take advantage to involve me in this adventure, which very prudently she had sent to me about, for which I thank her. She would know enough regarding it to ascertain the truth; and, on my part, I ask no better, save that they (Elizabeth's ministers) should proceed with the most rigorous inquisition they could, to discover all those who were mixed up with this design, and in what mode they proceeded.[n] Well I remember the reply made me touching Sommerfield,[o] "that to excuse before being accused, was a sign of a guilty conscience"; and therefore I leave all to the prudence of the said queen my good sister, and wait the worst that my enemies choose to make of this

It is a fact worth remarking, that whenever any treaty seemed in a favourable way of progressing towards the liberation of the unfortunate Mary, some assassination plot was always discovered by the ministers of Elizabeth against the life of that queen, by which they played on her fears and resentment, to break the treaty. When the trials of these assassins are examined, it will be found they were worked on by mysterious agents, whom they knew little about; and the assassins, or themselves, were generally crack-brained persons, like Sommerfield and Parry. These attempts were always attributed to the Queen of Scots, though they were sure to occur at a time so disastrous for her, that had they been concocted by her direst enemies (as she affirmed they really were), they could not have befallen more opportunely for her ruin.

[o] The leader of one of the numerous plots ostensibly made against the life of Elizabeth; he killed himself in prison, and had been insane.

affair; yet I pray, Monsieur de Mauvissière, omit not to defend my innocence and just cause.

I am thinking of writing to the king, my good brother, regarding what my ambassador spoke to him about, touching the state of my affairs and dowry. Nor can I help complaining of you, to yourself, for having despised the gift I made you of my town of Vittry, before that the Sieur de Sommievre or any other could have spoken about it to the king; for so soon as those who have my affairs in hand in Champagne (who were then at Troyes) sent me word that the Sieur d'Armancourt was condemned, I made them expedite my *lettres de provision*, thinking that it might be agreeable to you to have it. Although you have treated it with a negligence which is prejudicial, saying, "that you cannot accept it but by the express commandment of the king your master," yet I greatly appreciate your moderation. It is a long time since I wrote to my ambassador, for him to solicit the king about it; yet he found he could do little concerning it during the long audience he had, neither about the bad state of my other affairs. I cannot persuade myself that they would hold me for an utter stranger in France, nor take from me the means of exercising the rights that appertain to me there over my dowry, in behalf of

one towards whom I am so much obliged as I am to you, by your performing the commissions you have so often done for me from the king my good brother, your master, for these ten years, which makes me greatly regret the little value of this present from me to you,—a thing so just and reasonable as it is; which makes me so much astonished at the reply given to my ambassador, that I am inclined to suppose that it arises from some evil report that has reached the king my good brother, rather than that he, whom I hold as my only support and protector, would refuse me anything so very reasonable as the power of rewarding your signal services.[p]

I pray you, while you stay on this side (of the water), which you will till my gossip your wife is put to bed, do not omit to aid me. I must ask you to negociate for me two thousand crowns at London, by some banker who can do it, and I will send for them a letter at sight on Chaulnes, my

[p] On reference to p. 92, vol. ii. in her letter from Chartley, one twelvemonth afterwards, viz., March 31, 1586, she again mentions this present of her feudal rights in the town or bailliwick of Vittry. The moderation she justly praises in this letter, which made Mauvissière so loth to accept anything from her poverty, is perfectly consistent with the character his brother historians have given him, as being one of the best good men of France. It is necessary to observe, that in vol. ii., p. 71, it appears Mauvissière lent her the 2000 crowns she asks for here; and the documents in the succeeding pages refer to them, and other loans.—See pp. 76, 77, 78, vol. ii.

treasurer, without fail, for he has funds to do this; which will be the case, as well, when I recommend myself to your good heart, and to that of my gossip (Madame de Mauvissière), and my god-daughter, whom I have an extreme desire to see, so virtuous as they say she is; and I pray God, Monsieur de Mauvissière, to have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

From Tutbury, this 9th day of March, 1585.

Your very good, obliged, and best friend,

MARIE R.

[This letter is endorsed, Copy of a letter written by the Queen of Scotland to Monsieur de Mauvissière.]

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière,[q] *Ambassador in England from Henry III.*

March 12, 1585.

Monsieur de Mauvissière,—I have just received, by Sommer, a letter said to be from my son, but so far in language and reality from his former promises, and from the duty and obligation that my said son owes to me, that I cannot receive it for his own, but rather for the act of Gray,[r] who, full of impiety and dissimulation, as much towards

[q] Des Mesmes MS., No. 9515, fol. 158. Original State Letters. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

[r] For the character and conduct of this man, see the supplementary part of this volume.

God[1] as towards man, thinks this letter a *chef d'œuvre*, which is to screen what he is undertaking in this country, to wit, the entire separation of my son from me. Therefore, I implore you, as you will do me a kindness, in a matter of the last importance, and which touches me so nearly, that you will request the Queen of England that I may speak to the Justice-clerk[2] (lately sent to her), in order to let me understand by him more fully of the truth of my son's intention, and at the same time send him my final resolution in this case, which, if she permits not, I shall have great reason to impute to her bad ministers, before all Christendom, this evil conduct, and first division between my son and me; because, before they intermeddled between us, we had always been in good and perfect amity, such as God and nature required. But since, that (on the assurances which they have given us), I have consented to walk in their way, nothing has prospered, but all impiety, in the which if men think to make advantage politically, as perhaps our common enemies in-

[1] By this expression, we find Mary was aware that Gray's profession of her religion was a mere mask.

[2] M. de Mauvissière has noted,—"This Justice-clerk was a young ambassador sent from Scotland, who would not go to the Queen of Scots without express commands." The office of Justice-clerk was a situation, the second in rank in the legal department of the Scottish government.

tend, I hope that God, the all-just, will avenge himself sooner or later.

The second point, on which I would have you labour, is, to draw a clear and final resolution from the said queen my good sister, in case she holds, as the intention of my said son, the contents of this letter, that she will make me, if she pleases, plainly and particularly understand, whether she means to treat with me or not? and how she determines to proceed in it, without holding these things as occasion of vain delay and putting off; for she has not yet sent in her definitive reply, deferring it purposely till I knew these excuses of my son. In the meantime, that my son may feel to what the ways of his good friends and councillors here (*i. e.* in this country) have conducted him, and will lead him hereafter, I pray you instantly, and for the future, to take from him the name of king, since he will not hold it of me; and, until he makes this recognition, I am assured that the king (Henry III.) my good brother, who is the author of the *association*[u]

[u] This passage alludes to a curious point of secret history between Mary and her son, best developed by an attentive perusal of these letters. Mary had entered into an agreement (called by her an *association*) with her son, whom, after the revolution, called the Raid of Ruthven, made by the Calvinist republicans, she found too weak to support his regal authority without the aid of her faithful friends. It appears by the present letter, that the King of France was a party

between us (and has been himself a signal example in the present age, and to all posterity, of the rare piety of a son to a mother),* will not countenance or maintain him in this enormous ingratitude. And I entreat you at this time, or at any future time, name not my son as king in any negociation that you carry on with him.

I wish also that the queen (Elizabeth) would declare to you, if she means to maintain the usurpation of my said son in the fashion to which, it seems, he pretends? or what is her opinion in this case? My son has sent to me, "that the reason he cannot join with me in this treaty is,

to this wise measure, by which Mary surrendered her regal rights to her boy, and effected a coalition of her friends with his, on condition that he should acknowledge that he received the title of king from her voluntary resignation, and not from her forcible deposition by her rebels. Hence her extreme anguish at the ungrateful treatment of which she complains here, and in the subsequent grand, but imprudent, letter to her persecutor, Elizabeth. All the parties treated her with neglect; her reproaches were never suffered to reach her son, who was, virtually, as much a captive as herself, but with a tether long enough to allow him to follow the chase and take personal exercise. It was strange that Mary, who knew by experience to how low an ebb the personal power of a Scottish sovereign had dwindled, should for one moment have considered her son a responsible agent in the matter. Her good sense clearly shows her at once whose work it is, and yet her heart is pierced with maternal anguish, and she cannot refrain from reproaching James, who was then only in his seventeenth year.

* To Catherine de Medicis, whom he permitted to be his prime minister, though he was of full age to govern for himself, and to rule his kingdom to their mutual tribulation.

because I am held captive in a desert." The queen my good sister can exonerate me when she pleases from this objection, and put me at once in a free state to serve her, as I would sincerely desire, if she would but give me an opportunity.

God give me consolation, and have you, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy and worthy keeping.

From Tutbury, the 12th day of March, 1585.

"*What follows is in the handwriting of the Queen of Scotland,*"—*such is the indorsement on the manuscript.*

Monsieur de Mauvissière,—I am so grievously wounded and cut to the heart, by the impiety and ingratitude my child has been constrained to commit against me, in this letter, dictated to him by Gray, being both in terms and in substance quite similar to one which he wrote to me in cypher, whilst he (Gray) staid in London. But if my son persists in this, you can assure him, by the Justice-clerk (in reply to the fine message he has brought me on his part), that I will invoke the malediction of God on him, and will give him not only mine, with all circumstances that may touch him to the quick, but say also that I will disinherit him, and deprive him, as an unnatural son,

who is ingrate, perfidious, and disobedient, of all the grandeur that he can have through me in this world; and rather in such case will I give my right (be it what it may) to the greatest enemy that he may have, before ever he shall enjoy it by usurpation, as he does my crown, to which, save by my act, he has no right, as I will show that he himself confesses under his own hand.

I cannot persuade myself that the queen my good sister would ever favour and support so enormous and detestable an impiety, nor refuse me to clear up the whole with the Justice-clerk, for one echo cannot suffice for such a report as this! At least, she could untie my hands, and let me treat with my child as required, seeing that he excuses himself by reproaching me with my long captivity in a desert! And this in reward for having done all that I could to obey and please him.

But if they would let me have a little explanation with the Justice-clerk,[y] I could more

[y] Her passionate requisition of the conference with this minister, whose official title must be so undignified to English readers, was evidently to learn from him, whether the political manœuvre of leaving her name out of a treaty ostensibly opened with France, England, and Scotland, for her freedom, arose from her son's personal cruelty towards her, or was a mere state trick of the dominant faction in Scotland? Her son, in his manuscripts, earnestly affirms, that he was as much a prisoner at the time, and long after, as she was herself.

patiently receive the good or evil that would result, without attributing ill to any other than to the ministers of the queen (Elizabeth) my good sister; so much of passions, malice, and enmity, have I experienced from them on less occasions than this affair. And because *Archibul Duglas* has had many secrets, together with this Gray, who has so falsely comported himself towards me, I wish you would tell him that I cannot but suspect him, unless he gives me some good proof of the fidelity he has so often sworn to me; for if he comports not himself as he ought to me, I shall disavow him as mine (agent), for he need not reckon to be on both sides; he may consider it enough to be favoured in the country here, and with my lost child. Believe not, I entreat you, anything that these persons may show in outward semblance of affection towards my service; and if he (Archibald Douglas) would be for me, let him declare it in plain terms, as he has offered before now.[1]

Abandon not, I implore you, Monsieur de

[1] She was perfectly right in her suspicions of this traitor; she had disavowed him for her agent a twelvemonth previous to this period, as appears by the Sadler Papers, vol. ii. Patrick Gray and Keith threw all the blame regarding the death of Mary on Archibald Douglas. And it was said at the court of Scotland, "that this man had now compassed the deaths, both of the king's mother and father." He died, nevertheless, a prosperous nobleman.

Mauvissierè, the justice of my just cause; aid me with your accustomed firmness and prudence, since you alone can do much for me, by means of the authority and name you have near the queen my good sister, that before your departure (from England) I may know my best or my worst.

Your very affectionate and obliged friend,

MARIE R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[a]

March 23, 1585.

Madame my good sister, since I cannot obtain permission to send to my son, or speak to any one coming on his part to this country, to clear up, as I have so many times required, all that is ill interpreted and traversed between him and me; by which I see, more and more, the little that remains for me to hope, my enemies being, meantime, suffered to continue their old practices, in the case of my misled child, to sever him from me as they have laboured so earnestly since long ago. I have therefore come to a resolution, which I will not longer defer making you understand, that, since my ill-advised son is so unhappy, and abandoned by the spirit of God, that he permits him-

[a] MS. Des Mesmes, No. 9513. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

self to be led and persuaded to refuse to hold of me[b] that of which, without me, he could not be legitimately possessed; it may please you at once to bring to a conclusion the treaty for my liberty, and to permit me to retire, with your good grace, out of this isle into some solitary place, as much for the repose of my soul as of my body. And I offer you anew, not only those terms which have been lately tendered by my secretary, but all other things I will give up without any reserve, save honour and safe conscience, that you may be entirely satisfied, and I out of this slavery, or *desert* captivity, (which is my reproach).

I would, as much for myself as my posterity, renounce and quit for ever, all rights that I or mine can pretend to in this kingdom after you, (whom God preserve), which will at once take away altogether all motive for my enemies to cause you to distrust me, and make you forget the others.

I shall, by this means, no more serve for a pretext, to whomsoever they may be, who do, or attempt, under my name, or pretence to my favour, anything to your prejudice or annoyance; for since of late *he*[c] has failed me and deceived me, for whose sole advantage (I take the living God to witness,) I have suffered and strove in this my

[b] His title to the throne of Scotland.
[c] Her son, James VI.

captivity, to uphold and preserve the grandeur which appertained to me, and was my lot in this world, having held *his* preservation much more dear to me than my own. He shall no more descant on what is to befall him and me in the future; in short, he shall no longer experience that the greatest pleasure I have in this world is his advancement, but rather, it will be to leave him to all posterity a signal example of God's just vengeance on him and his supporters, for tyranny, ingratitude and impiety.

You may remember, madame, how it pleased you to send to me, that you had never recognized him for king by letter written with your own hand, before I myself had so called him; but I did not so, neither did I require other princes to do the same, excepting on his consent and promise to enter into a bond of agreement, by him requested, and since sent to him, as I desired, *perfect*.[4] On his side he acknowledged that he had neither right nor security in the possession of the crown but by my voluntary acceptance of his duty, and my abdication of all government, the which I myself then remitted to him, content-

[4] She means *perfectly executed;* this was the voluntary deed of abdication in favour of her son, which was a most sensible measure for Mary to take in her situation; but the gist of the matter is, that she chooses to endow him of her own free will.

ing myself with the honours and the name which was my due, without any hindrance to his ambition, sanctioned by my agreement.[c] And in truth, he could neither hold (his crown) legitimately and in security by any other way; or it would be extremely prejudicial to all princes in Christendom, and in consequence, to you among them; although, some among your subjects, very near to you, dare publicly to affirm and uphold the election and deposition of kings. Be not, I entreat you, one of those who open the door to such extraordinary violences, and instead of being my protectress to whom I have utterly committed myself, suffer not, under the shelter of your name and countenance, such impiety to be established and maintained, contrary to all law, divine or human.

It has happened sometimes, that brothers and other near relatives, have, in regard to one another, forgotten all, in the ambition of reigning, but alas! was ever a sight so detestable and impious, before God or man, as an only child, and one to whom all has been yielded and given up at will, not only despoiling his mother of her crown and royal estate, (for as to the crown, he cannot be

[c] This explanation shows why Lord Herries, Seaton, and a large body of true and loyal Scotch nobles, transferred their allegiance to King James; they only did so by her express orders.

debarred from it even if it were in debate—which it is not—for I have willingly given it him, and ask but honour and liberty of conscience, without ever desiring to set foot in Scotland). But otherwise infatuated by sinister and partial counsel, he would prefer rather to detain it by usurpation and the violence of his subjects, (though of daily occurrence to himself under his own eyes), than by my frank, liberal, and pure consent. For God's sake, madame—you are his godmother, and much have I desired you to be his other mother, as at a former time I left him to you, when I thought myself about to die, and would have it so still—make him then reflect—with your natural inclination to all that is just, and with your accustomed prudence—what good or honour can at the end revert to you from such counsel (which I know well others than you have given him), of joining, by any league or treaty of amity with my child separated thus from me, for lack of liberty of being enlightened of the truth. Be not the means, then, by countenancing him, of confirming him more in his ingratitude and neglect towards me.

He will come to have proof, (as without doubt he will, if I persist in giving him for ever my malediction, and of depriving him, as much as he can be by me, of all benefit and grandeur he

thinks to pretend to, through me, in Scotland and elsewhere), that in all Christendom I shall find enough of heirs, who will have talons strong enough to grasp what I may put into their hand.[f] And rather than retract from it, let them (*her son and his councillors*) make my corpse the shortest way, if they please, to their ends, for this will be to me more welcome. And for my resolution, assure yourself, that if, after having sincerely opposed, and as far as was permitted me unto the present, done and performed whatever in me lay to rank myself entirely with you, and

[f] In this bitter denunciation against her son, whom cruel mischief-makers had misrepresented to her, Mary follows the idea which at that era prevailed throughout the world (excepting with some bold reformers), that kingdoms were like estates, not only to be enjoyed at the pleasure of the possessor, but liable to be left with the good-will and blessing of parents to their heirs, if dutiful; while, on the contrary, if the heir gave offence, he could be disinherited, and the kingdom and people left to a stranger by will. The great stress Queen Elizabeth had laid on a bequest of this kind, obtained from Mary when a child by Henry II., must have confirmed this queen in thinking that the threat which she offers above would be formidable to Queen Elizabeth and her son, who, it seems, (by the intrigues of Patrick Gray), were concluding the treaty, opened ostensibly for Mary's liberation from her doleful prison, without the slightest heed to her miseries, and worse than that, Patrick Gray, she had been most truly told, was conspiring her death. Among other accusations against James, he has been blamed for the banishment from court, and the detestation in which he ever held Patrick Gray after his mother's execution; but had he ever seen the letters that passed between that traitor and Archibald Douglas, he would not have been content, with such light inflictions.

lead my said son with me: and surely, if I am left and put after him, and if he thinks to treat with you, supposing under your name, that our enemies will yield to him, as he persuades himself—there is a long time to *that*, as he himself sent to me by Gray—but assure yourself, sooner than this, I will disavow him for my son, lay on him my malediction, and disinherit him, not only from what he holds now, but from all that, through me, he can pretend to elsewhere,[s] abandoning him to his subjects to do to him as he has been instigated to do to me, and also to strangers to invade and punish him for his fault. At least, I assure myself, that he will not enjoy, without trouble, anything that may come to him with the strength and support he has. And I will take from him—and with good right—the protection of God, who will not, against the promise of his word, favour to the end the like impiety and injustice! Thus, whoever may treat with him, will have in it little honour, merit, or security, nor will my enemies draw from him such advantages as they may think; if indeed, they are not merely trying to ruin him by his own means, which I believe they are essaying to do. Receive not, I supplicate you, regarding this, the evil interpretation of mine enemies; for I proceed simply, and with

[s] The English throne.

open heart, to show you in like case, what I am resolved to do, in order that afterwards you may not find any fault, or blame me for having done aught without your knowledge, or ask more than a *yes* or a *no* in all this affair. You could have me assuredly all your own to serve you, as I have offered in all which pertains to your good, your preservation, and your contentment; but this being only accepted with the loss of my child, I have no more, to leave to you or him, but my poor body, to do with it what it would appear (save the will of God) that my enemies have been wishing and urging so long; but as to any fear or apprehension of such like accident, I would not take a single step, or say a single word more or less; for I had rather die and perish, with the honours such as it pleased God I was born to, than by pusillanimity to disgrace my life by prolonging it by anything unjust and unworthy myself and my race.

It pleased you to promise me, by my secretary (Nau), being, as he said, your last words at his departure, that after you should have replied to Scotland, you would send me plainly your last resolution touching this treaty for my liberty. At this moment I pray and require you, as affectionately and earnestly as possible, that you will no longer delude the rest of my miserable days

with vain hope, and that I may, for the last time (as I have already said), have power to attend to my affairs at this good season of Easter, before taking my course of medicine.

Moreover on this that the French ambassador has lately imparted to me, about one Parry and of Morgan, I will only say, taking it on my honour and conscience, that you will not find me mixed up with anything of the sort, abhorring, more than any other in Christendom, such detestable practices and horrible acts. For to speak freely, madame, I believe, that those who attempt *your* life would do as much on mine, and indeed, at this moment, mine wholly depends on yours, for well I know, that if yours should be cut off, you have near you those of these new Associates,[b] who would soon cause me to follow you; but I would far rather go before than live with such a burden, with which I think I shall not be laden. God then, and my conscience, will be sufficient to exonerate me in this case, and I will trouble you no more, that I may not give cause to my enemies to say, as they did when I wrote on a similar

[b] Of a celebrated Association in which each member took a pledge to defend the life of Queen Elizabeth, and revenge, to the utmost of his power, any attempts on it. Mary Queen of Scots herself offered to become a member, though it was confederated peculiarly for her destruction by Burleigh and his party, of which she gives a hint here.

occasion about Sommerfield, "that very often those who defend themselves before they are charged with aught, accuse themselves." But you will find that I bear a heart far enough from any such wicked intention, and that more than ever (if I had no more from you to complain of) I would respect you, love you, obey you, and serve you faithfully and sincerely in all I could, in return for that liberty, which I yet demand of you at the conclusion of this letter, in tears and oppressed with grief.

At Tutbury, this 23rd of March, 1585.

Your humble and very affectionate, but desolate sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

[On the back of this letter is written, in the hand of M. de Mauvissière, *Copy of a letter of the Queen of Scots to the Queen of England, 23rd March*, 1585.]

The Queen of Scots to M. D'Esneval Sieur de Courcelles, Ambassador from Henry III. to James VI.[1]

April 30, 1586.

Monsieur D'Esneval,—On the reception of your letters, dated the 20th of February (which

[1] Des Mesmes MS., tome iii., fol. 318. Lettres Originales d'Etat. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

came to my hands but the 22nd of this present month), I could not help testifying the satisfaction I feel at the good choice it has pleased the king, monsieur my brother-in-law, to make of you to reside near my son, and at the same time, at the express commandment that he has given you in favour of my affairs in that country, (Scotland).

I assure myself that you have found, and will in the future more and more discover, good inclinations there to cultivate our ancient alliance with France, which I recommend to you with all the affection possible.

I shall receive an especial pleasure if you will inform me from time to time, according as opportunity and convenience permit, of the health and state of my son, towards whom my extreme affection as a mother has never failed,[k] although his bad ministers have made him so much forget my sufferings. Meantime, expecting that this means (of communication) may be so well established, as to give me an opportunity of writing to him and to you more amply, I will not make this longer, excepting to assure you that should I ever have the means of acknowledging the obligations

[k] In this letter the unfortunate queen resumes the maternal feelings for her son, which had been outraged the preceding year by the machinations of Patrick Gray and his colleagues in iniquity.

I have had from your father-in-law, and hope to have from your own good offices there, I will do so with a very thankful heart.

Praying God that he will have you, M. D'Esneval, in his holy and safe keeping.

Written at Chartley, in England, the last day of April, 1586.

I beg you to send me a whole length portrait of my son, as large as life, drawn from his own person.

Your entirely good friend,

MARIE R.

[In the same collection of the President de Mesmes, at the Bibliothèque du Roi, is a minute of the answer of M. D'Esneval, from Scotland, to Mary Queen of Scots; he tells her "that he has given orders to a painter, the only one who was at Lislebourg,[1] to make a portrait of the king her son, not indeed from the life, but from a good portrait lately painted of him, and that her son seemed greatly obliged by this mark of affectionate regard in his mother." In a letter from D'Esneval, dated "Falkland Palace, June the 3rd, 1585," the reconciliation between the mother and son was rendered more complete by the good offices of this French ambassador. He

[1] If Lislebourg indeed means Edinburgh, then must the Scottish capital have been strangely destitute of artists.

found James alone, he said, "excepting the presence of his most confidential household servants;" and he took the opportunity of telling him, "that he had just received a letter from his mother the Queen of Scotland, who named him with great kindness, and that she bade him tell James that her extreme affection for him had never been impaired." To which the young king listened very willingly, and said, "that he was always desirous of being her very dutiful son, and would have served her effectually if he had had but the means." James then told the French ambassador that he had written letters to his mother, expressing his affection, and when he was sure of not being seen, had tendered them to the care of Fontenay,[m] who had refused to take them, on account of the bad terms on which his mother was with him, "which were, indeed," added the young king, "wholly owing to the English, with whom he was obliged to dissimulate, but that he would never hold faith with them;" and he entreated D'Esneval, "that if he wrote letters expressive

[m] It appears the person called Fontenay in the French ambassador's despatch, who made serious mischief between Mary Queen of Scots and her son, is the same designated by Walsingham as "Le Fountaine, brother to Nau, sent into Scotland by the said queen." (Sadler Papers, vol. ii., p. 46). He told James "that his mother commonly said, that if she recovered her throne, she would reduce him to the fortune and degree of his father, Lord Darnley."

of the natural duty and love he bore the queen his mother, and could hand them to him without being seen, that he would take care of them, and forward them to her, if she would excuse the regular formalities."

There is some reason to believe, from the letter written by Queen Mary after her condemnation to death in the ensuing October, to Queen Elizabeth, that these letters from her son had never reached her; yet it will be perceived that she speaks of him in a very different spirit from the bitter denunciations, wrung from her by maternal anguish, in her correspondence of March, 1585.

The succeeding letters are documents explanatory of her trial and death.]

Lord Burleigh to Secretary Davison.[n]

October 15, 1586.

Mr. Secretary,—Yesternight, upon receipt of your letter dated on Thursday, I writ what was thought would be this day's work. This *Queen of the Castle* (Mary at Fotheringay) was content to appear again afore us in public to be heard, but in truth, not to be heard for her defence, for she could say nothing but negatively,

[n] MS. Cottonian, Calig., c. ix. fol. 433.

"that the points of the letters that concerned the practice against the queen's majesty's person (Elizabeth) were never by her written, nor of her knowledge; the rest for invasion, for escaping by force, she said she would neither deny nor affirm." But her intention was, by long artificial speeches, to move pity, to lay all the blame upon the queen's majesty, or rather upon the (privy) council, that all the troubles past did ensue, avowing her reasonable offers and our refusals; and in these her speeches I did so encounter her with reasons out of my knowledge and experience, as she had not that advantage she looked for; as I am sure the auditory did find her case not pitiable, her allegations untrue, by which means *great debate* fell yesternight *very long*, and this day *renewed*, with *great stomaching*.°

And we find all persons here in the commission fully satisfied, as by her majesty's order, judgment will be given at our next meeting, but the record will not be provided in five or six days, and that was one cause why, if we should have

° It is some consolation to find that the *whole* of the junta of English nobles sent down to Fotheringay for the purpose of condemning a helpless woman, (suffering with severe ill-health, and without legal aid or any means of defence but what her own eloquence afforded) were not base enough to sentence her without a sharp opposition. This fact is plain from the above words of the wily veteran Burleigh, though he asserts the contrary in the same sentence, yet the truth is glaringly apparent.

proceeded to judgment, we should have tarried five or six days more; and surely the country could not bear it by the waste of bread specially, our company being there, and within six miles, above 2000 horsemen, but by reason of her majesty's letter, we of her (privy) council, that is, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Rich, Mr. Secretary and myself only, did procure this prorogation, for the other two causes.

And so, knowing that by my Lord of Cumberland her majesty (Elizabeth) shall, sooner than this letter can come, understand the course of the proceeding, I will end.

Your assured loving friend,

W. BURGHLEY.

15th October, 1586, at Burghley.[p]

To the Right Honourable my very good friend, Mr. Secretary Davison.

[The intrigues of Patrick Gray, the ambassador sent by the Scotch government to the court of Elizabeth, against the life of Mary Queen of Scots, are now well known matter of fact. His principal agent in mischief was Archibald Douglas, resident ambassador from Scotland, a spy of Burleigh, who,

[p] Although dated Burghley, it is done by mistake, for he is evidently at Fotheringay, since the Queen of Scots was not removed from that castle.

under pretence of being an exile from Scotland, kept up an intriguing correspondence with all parties, but was in reality a deadly enemy of Mary. He had been represented, however, to the young king as a person of great influence at Elizabeth's court, and, at the same time, as a friend of his mother, who had certainly been deceived into employing him in her affairs. It is evident that some circumstance had given the young King of Scotland some suspicion of this person's real line of conduct, for he addressed to him the following straight-forward letter, when he found that the tendency of the English politics was to take his mother's life.]

King James VI. to Mr. Archibald Douglas.[1]

Reserve up yourself no longer in the earnest dealing for my mother, for ye have done it too long; and think not that any of your *travails* (labour) can do good if her life be taken, for then adieu with my dealing with them that are the special instruments thereof. And therefore, if ye look for the continuance of my favour towards you, spare no pains nor plainness in this case, but read my letter written to William Keith, and

[1] MS Cottonian, Calig., c. ix., fol. 432, written wholly in the hand of King James.

conform yourself wholly to the contents thereof; and in this request let me reap the fruits of your great credit there, either now or never. Farewell.

JAMES R.

The Sieurs Believre and Chateauneuf, the French Ambassadors, to Henry III. of France, relating their interviews with Queen Elizabeth on the subject of the Queen of Scots.[1]

December 18, 1586.

Sire,—We had audience with the Queen of England the 7th of this month, she having been presented the letters of your majesty. She received us in public, in her chamber of presence, assisted by most of the nobles of her nation, the lords of her council, and many others besides were present. When we began to explain to her that which it has pleased your majesty to command us to say, she made the Earl of Leicester retire, who was near enough to her; the other lords of the council, when they heard her tell him to fall back, withdrew themselves also, and she alone heard that which was represented to her on the part of your majesty. She interrupted the address many times, and made an answer,

[1] "Lettres Originale d'Etat," Des Mesmes Collection, No. 9513, tome iii., fol. 399, Bibliothèque du Roi.

general enough, speaking so loud that she could be heard all over the saloon. The substance of what she said is, "That your majesty is ill-informed as to what has passed touching the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, and that she (Queen Elizabeth) has always borne herself in your cause with so much amity and affection, that she merited some acknowledgment." She burst into invectives against the Queen of Scots, recounting the evil that she had received from that princess, and the good offices she had rendered to her; "but that she had been compelled to come to the resolution which has been taken, because it was impossible," she said, "to save her own life, and preserve that of the said queen; but that if we knew any means whereby she could find security for herself in preserving the Queen of Scots, she would be under great obligations to us, never having shed so many tears at the death of her father, of her brother, King Edward, and of her sister Mary, as she had done for this unfortunate affair." She left us to make her an answer in four days. The day before she gave us audience, the Lord Buckhurst was sent to Fotheringay, where he had to pronounce the sentence of death to the Queen of Scotland; and it has been said many times in this city of London, that it is

certain that they have put the said queen to death.[s]

The audience, that we were granted for Thursday, has been deferred till the Monday following. We having sent divers days to the grand treasurer,[t] that he should confer with us; this he did last Saturday, accompanied by Lord Hunsdon, lord-chamberlain, and the secretary, Walsingham, to whom we propounded again, "that your majesty would demand, in friendship, of the Queen of England, the wise reasons which moved her to do this?" Their reply was long in support of the judgment that had been given against the Queen of Scotland, saying, "they could see no way of . . . . .[u] that they did not wish to lose the queen their mistress, and . . . . ." After a long discourse, they told us that "she could not give us audience till Monday next." The said lady queen had, however, sent to inquire of her parliament, if any means could be found of saving her life, and preserving that of the Queen of Scotland. It was answered, "that there were none; and they prayed her to cause judgment to be executed on the said queen."

The said lady (Queen Elizabeth) gave us

[s] This was a false report.

[t] Lord Burleigh.

[u] Here a hiatus occurs in the MS.

audience on the appointed day, Monday, in her chamber of presence. We recommenced the same prayer with all the urgency that was possible, and spoke in such a manner that we could not be heard save by her principal councillors. But she rejoined in so loud a tone, that we were put in pain, because as we were using prayer, as the necessity of the affair required, and by her answers they could not understand that our plaint was refused. After she had continued long, and repeated many times the same language, she adverted to Morgan, and said, "Wherefore is it, that having signed a league, which I observe, does not he (the King of France) observe it also in a case which is so important to all princes?" assuring us, "that if any of her subjects—aye, those that were her nearest of kin (naming at the same time and showing us my lord the chamberlain,[v] who is her cousin-german) had enterprised things to the prejudice of your majesty's life, she would have sent him to you for purgation." To which we answered, "that he had not . . . . that if Morgan, having been on her sole account for a long time detained in a strong prison in France, had plotted a little against her majesty, he could not do her any harm, as he was in ward; that the Queen of Scotland has fallen into such a

[v] Lord Hunsdon, the son of her aunt, Mary Boleyn.

miserable state, and has found so many enemies in this kingdom, that there was no need to go and search for them in France to accelerate her ruin; and that it would be deemed a thing too monstrous and inhuman for the king to send the knife to cut the throat of his sister-in-law, to whom both in the sight of God and man he owed his protection." We could not believe but that we had satisfied her with this answer, but she abandoned the subject of Morgan, and flew to that of Charles Paget, saying, "Wherefore is he not sent?"

We replied "that we did not consider that Paget was in your majesty's power, as Paris was a great forest; that your majesty would not refuse to perform any office of friendship that could be expected, but that she must please to reflect, that you could not always do as you would wish in the present state of your realm; for your majesty had been censured at Rome and elsewhere, for the detention of Morgan, which was done solely out of respect to her." On which she said to us, "that the said Paget had promised to Monsieur de Guise to kill her, but that she had means enough in Paris to have him killed, if she wished."

She said this, on purpose, so loud, that the archers of her guard could hear; "and as to Morgan, that he had, within three months, sent to

her, ' that if she would please to accord him her grace, he would discover all the conspiracy of the Queen of Scotland ;' " adding, " that he was very ill guarded in the Bastile, for the Bishop of Glasgow had spoken more than twenty times to him ; and that he was also free to converse with whomsoever he thought proper." Then the said lady, lowering her voice, told us, " that she would wish us to be well advised, desiring the good of your majesty ; and that you could not do better than to give shortly a good peace to your subjects, otherwise she could foresee great injury to your realm, which a great number of foreigners would enter, in such sort that it would not be very easy to find a remedy to the evil."

On this we took upon ourselves to tell her, " that your majesty desired nothing more than to see his country in a happy repose, and would feel obliged to all princes, his neighbours, who had the same wish, if they would counsel his subjects to that effect when they addressed themselves to them ; that the queen, your mother, at her age, had taken the trouble to seek the King of Navarre for this good purpose ; and that it was our opinion that they would now enter into a treaty ; that the king, your majesty, and all good people, desired much, the preservation of the King of Navarre ; but that it was impossible for you to

assist him if the aid was not reciprocal on his side; that knowing the respect that the said King of Navarre bore to her, we thought the good counsel she might give him would greatly tend to accelerate the blessing of peace." While holding this discourse to her, it seemed to us, considering her countenance, that we talked of a thing that was distasteful to her, for she turned away her head as not wishing to proceed with the topic, and said to us in Latin, "He is of age."

We observed to her, "that she talked much of leagues and of armies; but she ought to wish that your majesty, who has never willingly consented to any thing which was prejudicial to his realm, were delivered from these unhappy civil wars, and to consider that she could not take the same assurances of all other princes;" on this she said, "that we might perhaps mean the King of Spain, but that their (Queen Elizabeth and Philip II.) enmity had never begun but by loves, and that we ought not to think that they could not be well together whenever *she* wished." And in truth, sire, we believe that she might very easily enter into such relations as she chose with that king. As far as we can judge, she has not the means needful for sustaining a war against so powerful a prince, being infinitely sparing of her money, and her people very desirous of a peace with Spain, as

they have lost all their commerce on account of the war. It seems that this queen has determined rather to accord with Spain than continue the war; and we understand she has sent several missions to the Duke of Parma. As to the disposition of this princess, touching the peace of your realm, we have written to you what she has said to us upon it; her councillors hold no other language to us; but from what we can gather from the gentlemen of this country, and the French refugees here, all the council of England consider that the tranquillization of France would be their ruin, and they fear nothing so much as to see an end of the civil wars in your kingdom.

Her majesty returned to the subject of the Queen of Scots, saying, "that she had given us several days to consider of some means whereby she could preserve that princess's life without being in danger of losing her own; and not being yet satisfied on that point, nor having yet found any other expedient, she could not be cruel against herself, and that your majesty ought not to consider it just that she, who is innocent, should die, and that the Queen of Scotland, who is guilty, should be saved." After many propositions on one part and the other on this subject, she rose up. We continued the same entreaties,

on which she said to us, "that in a few days she would give us an answer."

The next day we were apprized that they had made proclamation through this city, that sentence of death had been given against the Queen of Scotland. She has been proclaimed a traitress incapable of succeeding to the crown, and worthy of death.

The Earl of Pembroke, the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, assisted at this proclamation, and the same instant all the bells in this city began to ring; this was followed universally throughout the realm of England, and they continued these ringings for the space of twenty-four hours, and have also made many bonfires of rejoicing for the determination taken by their queen against the Queen of Scotland. This gave us occasion to write to the said lady (Queen Elizabeth) the letter of which we send a copy to your majesty. Not being able to devise any other remedy, we have made supplication that she would defer the execution of the judgment till we could learn what it would please your majesty to do and say in remonstrance.

The said lady sent word to us, "that on the morrow morning she would let us know her answer, by one of her counsellors of state." The

day passed, and we had not any news. This morning the Sieur Oullé,* a member of her council, came to us on the part of the said lady queen, with her excuse that we had not heard from her yesterday, on account of the indisposition of her majesty; and after a long discourse on the reasons which had moved them to proceed to this judgment, he said, "that out of the respect she (the queen) had for your majesty, she was content to grant a delay of the term of twelve days before proceeding to the execution of the judgment, without pledging herself, however, to observe such delay, if in the interim anything should be attempted against her which might move her to alter her mind, and the said lady has accorded a like delay to the ambassadors of Scotland, who have made to her a similar request." They have declared to this queen, "that if she will put to death the Queen of Scotland, the king, her son, is determined to renounce all the friendship and alliance that he has with England, and to advise with his friends how he shall proceed in her cause;" at which she has put herself into a great fury.

You see, sire, the pitiable state to which the Queen of Scots is reduced; her life is in the greatest danger, and we have no news of her save

* Probably Sir Thomas Wocller.

that she is very strictly guarded, and that they have only left her four women and two servants. Her sentence of death having been pronounced to her in the presence of Lord Buckhurst, we have not learned that she said anything but this, "that she could not have believed that the queen her sister would have exercised such inhumanity towards her."

When they had ordained the said proclamation of the judgment that had been given against her, we are told that they proceeded to take away the dais which was in her chamber, and deprived her of all other marks of royal dignity. Her chamber and her bed have been hung with black. They have offered a minister for her consolation, and she has refused to confer with a Protestant, although he came to her. She means to die Catholic.

Your majesty will be pleased to consider if there be not some way, through your favour and authority, whereby there may be a hope of saving her life, of which, may it please you to let us understand, within the said term, your good will and commandment; and that you will hear the Sieur de Genlis, the present bearer, to whom we have given credence to you touching the state of your affairs.

Sire, we supplicate the Creator to give to your majesty very happy and very lengthened life.

This from London, this 18th day of December, 1586.

Your very humble and very
Obedient servants,
BELLIEVRE,
DE L'AUBESPINE CHASTEAUNEUF.

[In a letter from the Earl of Leicester to Walsingham, extant in the British Museum, (MS. Harleian, No. 285), occurs the following extraordinary passage in allusion to the following beautiful letter from Mary, Queen of Scots, to Queen Elizabeth, after sentence had been pronounced upon her, which, it is well known, was done three months before her execution.

Leicester says to Walsingham, "There is a letter from the Scottish Queen *that hath wrought tears* (viz., drawn tears from Elizabeth), but, I trust, shall do no further herein; albeit, *the delay is too dangerous.*" A mangled abstract, translated from the Latin of Camden, is all hitherto known of this last letter from Mary to Elizabeth; it is here presented to the reader as literally rendered from the original French, in which poor Mary wrote it, as the idioms of the two languages admit.]

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.[x]

December 19th, 1586.

Madame,—Having, with difficulty, obtained leave from those, to whom you have committed me, to open to you all I have on my heart, as much for exonerating myself from any ill-will, or desire of committing cruelty, or any act of enmity against those with whom I am connected in blood; as also, kindly to communicate to you what I thought would serve you, as much for your weal and preservation, as for the maintenance of the peace and repose of this isle, which can only be injured if you reject my advice. You will credit, or disbelieve my discourse, as it seems best to you.

I am resolved to strengthen myself in Christ Jesus alone, who to those invoking him with a true heart, never fails in his justice and consolation, especially to those who are bereft of all human aid; such are under his holy protection; to him be the glory! He has equalled my expectation, having given me heart and strength, *in spe contra spem* (in hope against hope), to endure the unjust calumnies, accusations, and condemnations (of those who have no such jurisdiction over me), with a constant resolution to

[x] Des Mesmes MS., No. 9513, Collection of Original State Letters, Bibliothèque du Roi.

suffer death for upholding the obedience and authority of the apostolical Roman Catholic Church.

Now since I have been on your part informed of the sentence of your last meeting of parliament, Lord Buckhurst and Beale having admonished me to prepare for the end of my long and weary pilgrimage, I beg to return you thanks on my part for these happy tidings, and to entreat you to vouchsafe to me certain points for the discharge of my conscience. But since Sir A. Paulet has informed me (though falsely), that you had indulged me by having restored to me my almoner[y] and the money that they had taken from me, and that the remainder would follow; for all this I would willingly return you thanks, and supplicate still further as a last request, which I have thought for many reasons I ought to ask of you alone, that you will accord this ultimate grace for which I should not like to be indebted to any other, since I have no hope of finding aught but cruelty from the puritans, who are at this time, God knows wherefore! the first in authority,[z] and the most bitter against me.

I will accuse no one; may I pardon, with a

[y] De Préau, he remained in Fotheringay, but was forbidden to see his royal mistress. Her letter to him is comprised in this series.

[z] With no little grandeur of soul, Mary treats Elizabeth, not as her murderess, but as a person controlled by a dominant faction.

sincere heart, every one, even as I desire every one may grant forgiveness to me, God the first. But I know that you, more than any one, ought to feel at heart the honour or dishonour of your own blood, and that moreover of a queen and the daughter of a king.

Then, madame, for the sake of that Jesus to whose name all powers bow, I require you to ordain, that when my enemies have slaked their black thirst for my innocent blood, you will permit my poor desolated servants altogether to carry away my corpse, to bury it in holy ground, with the other queens of France, my predecessors, especially near the late queen, my mother; having this in recollection, that in Scotland the bodies of the kings my predecessors, have been outraged, and the churches profaned and abolished; and that as I shall suffer in this country, I shall not be given place near the kings your predecessors,[1] who are mine as well as yours; for according to our religion, we think much of being interred in holy earth. As they tell me that you will in nothing force my conscience nor my religion, and have even conceded me a priest,[2] refuse me not this my last request, that you will permit free

[1] This implied wish of burial in Westminster Abbey, her son James afterwards observed.

[2] In this she was deceived, her chaplain was not suffered to see her, though in the castle.

sepulchre to this body when the soul is separated, which when united could never obtain liberty to live in repose, such as you would procure for yourself,—against which repose, before God I speak, I never aimed a blow; but God will let you see the truth of all after my death.

And because I dread the tyranny of those to whose power you have abandoned me, I entreat you not to permit that execution be done on me without your own knowledge, not for fear of the torment, which I am most ready to suffer, but on account of the reports[b] which will be raised concerning my death unsuspected, and without other witnesses than those who would inflict it, who, I am persuaded, would be of very different qualities from those parties whom I require (being my servants) to stay spectators and witnesses of my end, in the faith of our sacrament, of my Saviour, and in obedience to his church. And after all is over, that they together may carry away my poor corpse (as secretly as you please), and speedily withdraw, without taking with them any of my goods, except those which in dying I may leave to them . . . . . which are little enough for their long and good services.

[b] She here dreads the imputation of suicide, a crime which is considered with peculiar horror by Catholics, as rendering impossible the rites their creed deems it essential, that the dying should receive.

One jewel[c] that I received of you I shall return to you with my last words, or sooner if you please.

Once more I supplicate you to permit me to send a jewel and a last adieu to my son, with my dying benediction, for of my blessing he has been deprived, since you sent me his refusal to enter into the treaty whence I was excluded by his wicked council; this last point I refer to your favourable consideration and conscience, as the others; but I ask them, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in respect of our consanguinity, and for the sake of King Henry VII., your grandfather and mine, and by the honour of the dignity we both have held, and of our sex in common, do I implore you to grant these my requests.

As to the rest I think you know, that in your name they have taken down my *dais* (canopy and raised seat), but afterwards they owned to me that it was not by your commandment, but by the intimation of some of your privy council; I thank God that this wickedness came not from you, and that it serves rather to vent their malice than to afflict me, having made up my mind to die. It is on account of this and some other things that

[c] This was probably a diamond ring which Elizabeth sent her as token of amity when she first came to England. "It was," says Melville," an English custom to give a diamond, to be returned at a time of distress, to recal friendship. Many instances exist in history of this custom.

they debarred me from writing to you, and after they had done all in their power to degrade me from my rank, they told me, "that I was but a mere dead woman, incapable of dignity." God be praised for all!

I would wish that all my papers were brought to you without reserve, that at last it may be manifest to you, that the sole care of your safety was not confined to those who are so prompt to persecute me; if you will accord this my last request, I would wish that you would write for them, otherwise they do with them as they choose. And, moreover, I wish that to this my last request you will let me know your last reply.

To conclude, I pray God, the just judge, of his mercy, that he will enlighten you with his Holy Spirit, and that he will give me his grace to die in the perfect charity I am disposed to do, and to pardon all those who have caused, or who have co-operated in my death. Such will be my last prayer to my end, which I esteem myself happy will precede the persecution which I foresee menaces this isle, where God is no longer seriously feared and revered, but vanity and worldly policy, rule and govern all—yet will I accuse no one, nor give way to presumption—yet, while abandoning this world and preparing myself for a

better, I must remind you, that one day you will have to answer for your charge, and for all those whom you doom, and that I desire that my blood and my country may be remembered in that time. For why? From the first days of our capacity to comprehend our duties, we ought to bend our minds to make the things of this world yield to those of eternity!

From Forteringhay (Fotheringay), this 19th December, 1586.

Your sister and cousin,

Prisoner wrongfully,

MARIE (ROYNE.[d])

[In justice to James VI., the urgent letter he wrote to Queen Elizabeth, when he found his mother's life was in jeopardy, ought not to be omitted in a collection of documents illustrative of her career and death. The crabbed orthography in which it is shrouded, has concealed its manly and earnest tenor from all but the historical antiquary, while the blame with which general historians have loaded the memory of the son of Mary of Scotland, is read univer-

[d] In the days of her prosperity, Mary merely signed her name Marie, but after her captivity, she was careful to add R. or Royne, for Regina, for the purpose of asserting the royalty of which she declared she had been deprived by violence and hard restraint at Lochleven.—Egerton Papers.

sally. Much discussion has likewise been thrown away on the question of whether James VI. appointed Patrick Gray, with the evil intent of urging Elizabeth to destroy his mother? The truth is, that whether Patrick Gray went with malevolent or benevolent intentions against poor Mary, the young king was equally powerless in his appointment; for he was, as he most emphatically declared, nearly as much a prisoner as his unfortunate mother. Queen Elizabeth well knew that he was utterly helpless in the hands of the dominant faction of his kingdom. "I was unable," he says himself, "to revenge the heinous murder committed against my dearest mother by the old enemies (the English) of my progenitors, realm and nation. First, in respect of my youth, not trained up in dexterity of arms either to withstand injury or to conquer my own right, *being at all times bygone detained in captivity.* Next, my excessive want of money, being obliged to live from hand to mouth, having sufficient *patrimony* and *casualty* (land and expectations) without anything in store. Then the divers factions of spiritual and temporal estates, every one regarding himself, and not one me."

Those who doubt this statement, so forcible in its unvarnished simplicity, should compare it with the actual facts of James's situation, and they will find

it will bear the severest scrutiny. It is drawn from a paper called the "King's Reasons," extant in his own hand-writing, among the Cottonian Manuscripts. Julius F., fol. 70.]

King James VI. of Scotland to Queen Elizabeth.[c]

January 26th, 1586-7.

Madame and dearest sister,—If ye could have known what divers thoughts have agitated my mind since my directing of William Keith unto you, for the soliciting of this matter, whereto nature and honour greatly and unfeignedly bind and oblige me—if, I say, ye knew what divers thoughts, and what just grief I had, weighing deeply the thing itself, if so it should proceed, as God forbid!—what events might follow thereupon—what number of straights I should be driven unto—and, amongst the rest, how it might peril my reputation amongst my subjects. If these things, I

[c] MS. Cottonian Caligula, c. ix., fol. 146. Entirely in the young king's hand. See Ellis's Original Letters, vol. 2, p. 18, for this letter, in the original orthography. The unfortunate Mary never had the consolation of knowing that her son had pleaded so earnestly for her life as he did in this letter to Queen Elizabeth. The murderous intrigues of his ambassador, Patrick Gray, against her, had been duly detailed to her by the French ambassador, as we have shown by her preceding letters; and if she did not lay her head on the block with bitterness in her heart against her only son, the contrary must have been effected by the strongest exertion of Christian charity.

yet say again, were known to you, then doubt I not but ye would so far pity my case, as it would easily make you at the first, to resolve your own hest[f] unto it.

I doubt greatly in what fashion to write on this purpose, for ye have already taken so evil my plainness, as I fear, if I persist in that course, ye will rather be exasperated into passions[g] by reading my words, than by the plainness thereof to be persuaded to consider rightly the simple truth. Yet, justly preferring the duty of an honest friend to the sudden passions of one who, how soon they be past, can *wislier* (more wisely) weigh the reasons than I can set them down, I have resolved, in few words and plain, to give you friendly and best advice, appealing to your ripest judgment to discern thereupon. What thing, madame, can more greatly touch me in honour, both as a king and as a son, than that my nearest neighbour, being in strictest friendship with me, shall rigorously put to death a sovereign prince, and my natural mother?—she being alike in sex and in state to her that so uses

[f] The young king's meaning is: If you knew how unfortunate my case is, pity for me would influence your *hest*, or decision on the fate of my mother.

[g] The same collection, Ellis's Original Letters, contains a violent rating Elizabeth wrote James, in 1582, when he was only fifteen, on account of one of his letters she had taken ill. He now plainly tells her he fears to rouse her angry passions by saying all he feels for his mother.

her!—albeit subject, I grant, to a harder fortune, touching her, too, so nearly in proximity of blood? What law of God can permit that justice shall strike upon them whom he has appointed supreme dispensers of the same under him, whom he hath called gods, and therefore subjected to the censure of none on earth, whose anointing by God cannot be defiled by man unrevenged by the author thereof?[h]—they being supreme and immediate lieutenants of God in heaven cannot therefore be judged by their equals on earth. What monstrous thing it is that sovereign princes themselves should be the example-givers of the profaning of their own sacred diadems! Then what should move you to this form of proceeding, supposing the worst (which, in good faith, I look not for at your hands,) honour or profit? Honour were it to you to spare, when it is least looked for! Honour were it to you—which is not only my friendly advice, but my earnest suit—to make me and all the princes in Europe eternally beholding to you, in granting this my so reasonable request! And not—I pray you pardon my free speaking—to put princes to straits of honour where, through your general reputation and the universal, almost all, mis-

[h] This strain of argument, however obsolete at the present day, was wonderfully cogent with her to whom it was addressed, and was wisely enforced by the young king, then under age.

liking of you, may dangerously peril, both in honour and utility, your person and state. Ye know, madame, well enow, how small difference Cicero concludes to be betwixt *utile* and *honestum* in his discourse thereof, and which of them ought to be framed to the other.

And now, madame, to conclude, I pray you so to weigh these few arguments, that as I ever presumed of your nature, so the whole world may praise your subjects for their dutiful care of your person, and yourself for your princely pity—the doing thereof only belongs to you—the performing thereof only appertains to you—and the praise thereof only will ever be yours!

Respect then, good sister, this my first so long continued and so earnest request, and despatch my ambassadors with such a comfortable answer, as may become your person to give, and as my loving and honest[1] . . . . . unto you merits to receive.

But in case any do vaunt themselves to know further of my mind in this matter, than my ambassadors do (who indeed are fully acquainted therewith), I pray you not to take me to be a camelion, but by the contrary, them to be malicious impostors.

And thus praying you heartily to excuse my

[1] Here is an hiatus in the MS.

rude and *longsum* (lengthy) letter, I commit you, madame and dearest sister, to the blessed protection of the Most High, who must give you grace to resolve in this matter as may be honourable for you, and most acceptable to him.

From my palace of Holyrood-house, the 26th day of January, 1586-7.

Your most loving and affectionate
Brother and cousin,
JAMES R.

[Superscription, A madame ma très chère sœur et cousine la Royne d'Angleterre.]

Walsingham and Davison to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury.[1]

February 1, 1586—7.

After our hearty commendations, we find by a speech lately made by her majesty (Queen Elizabeth), that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this

[1] These letters, though known to antiquaries, require a place in the direct current of the original documents, in order that the reader may well perceive the assassination that Elizabeth was endeavouring to practise, in order to obviate the scandal of putting her cousin to death, so much deprecated in the interview with the French ambassador. In Mary's noble letter of the 19th of December, it may be observed, that she does not once ask her life of Elizabeth, but only that she may not be murdered privately; and this is the manner in which Elizabeth answered that piteous appeal.

time (of yourselves without other provocation) found out some way of *shortening the life of the Scots' queen*, considering the great peril she (Queen Elizabeth) is hourly subject to *so long as the said queen shall live;* wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she wonders greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather the preservation of religion and the public good, and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth, especially having so good a warrant and ground for the *satisfaction of your consciences towards God*, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of association which you have both so solemnly taken and vowed, especially the matter wherewith *she* (Mary) standeth charged, being so clearly and manifestly proved against her.

And therefore *she* (Elizabeth) taketh it most unkindly that men, professing that love towards her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for lack of discharging your duties, cast the burden upon her, knowing as you do her indisposition to shed blood,[k] especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near her in blood as that queen is.

These respects, we find, do greatly trouble her majesty, who we assure you hath sundry times

[k] Meaning publicly, private murder she preferred.

protested, "that if the regard of the danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to the shedding of blood."

We thought it meet to acquaint you with these speeches lately passed from her majesty, referring the same to your good judgments. And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

Your most assured friends,

FRA. WALSINGHAM,

WILL. DAVISON.

London, Feb. 1, 1586-7.

[If Walsingham thought he had to deal with men simple as the Gournays, the Maltravers, and the Extons of the middle ages, who did foul deeds for their betters, and reaped the odium alone as their reward, he was the more mistaken. History had not told her tale in vain to the astute castellans of Fotheringay; they had heard of sovereigns who, when a black assassination was effected, talked of liking the work, but hating the unfortunate agents who had effected it.

Davison's mind misgave him as soon as this murderous scroll was despatched, and he sent a special messenger, urging Sir Amias Paulet to make a heretic of the former letter, and burn it. Sir Amias Paulet did no such thing; he preserved

all the documents so carefully, that they are at this day indisputable testimony of historical truth. He answered Walsingham's incentive to make him the cat's-paw in Mary's murder by the following epistle]:—

Sir Amias Paulet to Secretary Walsingham.

Sir, - Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day, at five post meridian, I would not fail, according to your direction, to return my answer with all possible speed, which I shall deliver to you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy as living to see this unhappy day, in which I am required, by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth.

My goods and my life are at her majesty's *disposition* (disposal), and I am ready to lose them the next morrow if it shall please her, acknowledging that I do hold them as of her mere and most gracious favour, and do not desire to enjoy them, but with her highness' good liking. But God forbid I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law or warrant.

Trusting that her majesty, of her accustomed clemency, and the rather by your good mediation,

will take this my answer in good part, as proceeding from one who never will be inferior to any Christian subject living in honour, love, and obedience towards his sovereign, and thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty.

Your most assured poor friend,

A. POWLET (PAULET.)

From Fotheringay, the 2nd of February, 1586-7.

P.S.—Your letters coming in the plural number, seem to be meant to Sir Drue Drury as to myself, and yet because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any particular answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion.

D. DRURY.

[Davison, Queen Elizabeth's private secretary, who was deluded, to his ruin, into despatching the warrant for the death of Mary Queen of Scots, has, in his narrative of exculpation, given us some insight regarding the manner in which Queen Elizabeth received this answer of her Fotheringay castellans, to the proposal of assassination. "When her majesty had read it, she fell into some terms of offence, complaining of the dainty perjury of Sir Amias, who, contrary to his oath of *association*, would lay the whole bur-

den of this death on her. Then she took a turn or two on her gallery whither Davison followed her, she renewing her former speech, blaming the niceness of "that precise fellow Paulet," for so she called him now, instead of her former caressing epithets of "Amias, my most careful and faithful servant." "For," she added, "in words he would do much, but in deeds perform nothing," and concluded, "She would have it done without them, naming one Wingfield, who, she assured Secretary Davison, would with some others undertake *it*"—the private assassination of the Queen of Scots. She did not, however, find it so easy in England to obtain agents for private murder. "For," says Davison, "the next time I had access to her, she swore it was a shame to them all (her ministers and privy council) that it was not done."][1]

The Queen of Scots to her Almoner, De Préau, written the evening before her execution.[m]

February 7, 1587.

I have striven this day for my religion, and against receiving my last consolation from the heretics; you will hear from Burgoin (*her phy-*

[1] We refer the reader for further particulars on this act of the tragedy to Sir Harris Nicolas' Life of Davison.

[m] Jebb, vol. ii., p. 303. This is a translation from the original French, printed in that collection.

sician), and the others that, at least, I made protestation of my faith in the which I will die. I required to have you, to make my confession, and to receive from you my sacrament. This has been cruelly refused to me, as well as permission to carry away my body, and the power of leaving by will, freely, or of writing anything except it pass through their hands, and by the good pleasure of their mistress.

I must therefore confess my grief for my sins in general, as I had intended to do to you in particular, imploring you in the name of God, this night to watch for me, praying that my sins may be remitted, and to send me your absolution and pardon, if at any time I may have offended you.

I shall endeavour to see you[n] though in their presence, as they have accorded to me my *maître*

[n] De Préau, the almoner, or domestic chaplain of the Queen of Scots, had always been under the same roof with her, though debarred from her presence since October, 1586, the time of her mock trial. The following notice of this priest occurs in Sir Ralph Sadler's information concerning the routine of Mary's household, in November, 1584. "Her two secretaries, Nau and Curle; the master of her household, Andrew Melville; her physician, Burgoin, and De Préau, have separate chambers, and so always have had." Again, "the secretaries, Melville, Burgoin, and De Préau, eat at a mess of seven or eight dishes." In some accounts given of Mary's death, an old man is said to have been present with the rest of her servants, and, as Mr. Tytler says, her almoner was present; this old man must have been De Préau.

d'hôtel, (Melville); and if it is permitted me, before them all, on my knees, I will ask your benediction.

Advise me as to the most proper prayers for this night and for to-morrow morning. The time is short, and I have no leisure to write, but I will recommend you with the rest (*of her household*); above all, your benefices shall be assured to you, and I will recommend you to the king (of France).

I have no more leisure. Advise me of all that you can think of for my soul's health by writing. I will send you a last little token.

The last proceedings of the Queen of Scotland after she was admonished of her death till the the hour thereof.[o]

On Monday the 7th day of February, *my Lord Beale*,[p] one of the nobles who are about the

[o] Life of Egerton, Lord Chancellor, printed for private circulation by the Earl of Bridgewater, p. 109. This curious contemporary document appears to have been transmitted by the French ambassadors, with other reports of the transactions of that period, to their master, Henry III. of France. Besides this original narrative, and the one published in vol. ii., there are two others, one by a French eye-witness, the other by one of her Scottish servants, each enriched with little distinct particulars which had escaped the others; the principal variations are in her French Life, published in 1670, by M. Pierre le Pesant, the other is printed in her Life by Sanderson, 1646.

[p] Meaning Mr. Secretary Beale.

Queen of England, was sent by her to Fotheringhay, where the Queen of Scotland was prisoner, with charge and commission from the said Queen of England to proceed to immediate execution of the sentence which had been pronounced on the said Queen of Scotland, and command was sent to the Earl of Shrewsbury to be present at this execution, and also to some other gentlemen near neighbours to the Castle of Fotheringhay.

As soon as he arrived, the "*Lord*" Beale desired to visit the said lady queen, which he did the same day. About the eighth or ninth hour of the evening, he presented himself at her chamber door, which was immediately opened by one of her chamberers, of whom he demanded, "If the said lady were now going to bed?" She replied, "that her majesty was making herself ready for it, having already taken off her mantle." She then hastily re-entered the chamber of the said lady, and told her "that Beale had already entered her ante-chamber, and desired to speak to her."

The queen called for her mantle which she had thrown off, and bade them open the chamber door. He entered, and having made his salutation, said, "Madame, I could well have desired, that some other, than I, had had to announce such evil tidings, as those I have now to tell you on the

part of the Queen of England, but being her faithful servant, I can do nothing less than obey the commandment that she has given me, which is, madame, to admonish you, as I now do, to dispose and hold yourself ready, to-morrow at the tenth hour of morning, to suffer the execution of the sentence of death, which has been pronounced on you a little time ago."

The said lady replied to him with great firmness, and without betraying the slightest degree of fear.

"I praise and thank my God, that it pleases him to put an end by this to the many miseries and calamities, that they have compelled me to endure; for since nineteen years up to the present moment, I have been constituted a prisoner, and very evilly entreated by the Queen of England my sister, without having ever injured her, as God is my principal witness; but I go to render up my spirit into his hands, innocent and with a pure heart, and conscience clear before his Divine Majesty, of the crimes, of which she has caused me to be accused; and I shall now carry this same innocence boldly before his face, who is the sole judge of my past actions. And seeing that I must die a death so violent; brought about by the means of one so unjust, and by the iniquitous judgment of men to whom I could

never be accountable, I will make myself known openly when I present myself there, which will be far better for me than to live on in the same calamity, and that martyrdom in which they have made me languish so long; not having the least hope, from the evil nature of the queen —her mortal hatred and constant cruelty to me; and now, to please her councillors, and others my ancient foes, she wills to make herself subservient to them, for the accomplishment of my ruin and my death, which I shall be seen patiently to endure, that I may be delivered from their continual persecutions in order to reign perpetually, if it may please God, in a more happy resting-place than I have had the better part of my days, near so obdurate and cruel a relation; but since she is resolved on such rigour, the will of God be done."

When the damsels and other persons who were about the said lady heard and understood these doleful tidings, they began to scream and shed tears, and would have abandoned themselves to despair, but for the sweet consolations which this poor princess gave them. She exhorted them on all the points of that patience which was shown for our example in the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom she took and rested upon, as the foundation of her salvation, begging

her said damsels to watch and pray to God continually with her. This they did till an hour or two after midnight, when she wished to throw herself on her bed, where she remained only half an hour, and afterwards entered within a cabinet, which served her for an oratory, where she was accustomed to make her most particular orisons, entreating, however, those who were in her chamber to continue in their prayers while she was making hers, which she did till the break of day, when quitting her devotions, she said to her damsels these words:—

"My good friends, it gives me infinite regret that I have so little, wherewithal, to requite you, in effect, as I could much have wished, according to my good-will, for the good and faithful services that every one of you have rendered to me in my necessity. I have only one thing more to do, which is, to add a clause to the will that I have left, and ordain my son, the King of Scotland, to perform for me the duty of requiting and making to every one of you satisfaction and worthy contentment after my death. I will write to him on this, and some other things that I have particularly to say to him."

She re-entered her cabinet to write, having the pen in her hand during two hours. As she was on the point of concluding her letter, they came

and knocked at the door,[1] which she would open herself to the Sieur Beale, who was accompanied by Sir Amias Paulet, the same who had had the said lady in his keeping, and whose office it was to conduct her to the place prepared for her last day. She prayed them, "to give her the delay of half an hour's time, to finish something that she had begun to write." This was granted, but the said Beale and Paulet remained all the time in her ante-chamber.

The said lady came soon after out of her cabinet, where she had left what she had written, and said to two of her damsels, "I beseech you, my good friends, not to forsake me, and be, if you please, near me at the hour of my death."

When she came out of her chamber, finding the said Beale and Paulet before her, she said to them, "If it is now that I ought to die, tell me, for I am all prepared for it, with as much of

[1] In another narrative of this scene, we find the following circumstances:—

Burgoin, her physician, having begged her to take a bit of bread and a glass of wine, she took it, and then fell on her knees to pray to God; after she had been some time in that posture they beat at her chamber-door a second time; this was the earl-marshal, with a great many attendants, who designed, as some have given out, to drag her to death by force if she had asked for longer time. But she no sooner saw them than she declared her readiness to go along with them, and only desired "that one of her servants might be allowed to take a small ivory crucifix, which stood on the altar of her oratory." (Life of Mary, by M. Pierre le Pesant Sieur du Bois Guilbert.)

patience, as it will please God to give me; but in the meantime, I will intrust you to say and report to the Queen of England, my sister, from me, that she and those of her council have put on me the most iniquitous and unjust judgment, that was ever given in this realm and all Christendom, without proof, assured form, or any order of justice whatsoever; and I hold it for a certainty, that the judgments of God will follow her, so strictly and so closely, that her own conscience will accuse her all her life, and God after her death with my innocence, in which I will fearlessly render my spirit into his hands."

She then prayed that they would permit the approach of two damsels and her *maître d'hôtel*,[r] who took her under the arms to assist her in descending from her chamber, to the great hall below in the castle of Fotheringay, which was full of people, who had been waiting there all the night, for the purpose of witnessing this piteous spectacle. In the centre of this hall there was a high place, raised with five or six steps to ascend it; thither she was assisted by her *maître d'hôtel* and the said damsels. The people, who were attentive throughout to observe her actions and her countenance, as well as to note all the words that proceeded from her mouth, threw their regards on this poor princess, whose countenance

[r] Sir Andrew Melville was her *maître d'hôtel.*

appeared of such great beauty, that every one there marvelled at it.

The said lady being on her knees, her hands joined, and her eyes raised to heaven, she spoke in such wise that she did not seem like one compelled to her death, and on silence being accorded, she made this prayer:—

"My God, my Father, and my Creator, and his only Son, Jesus Christ, my Lord and Redeemer, who art the hope of all the living, and of all those who die in thee; since that thou hast ordained, that my soul must be separated from this mortal body, I supplicate very humbly of thy goodness and mercy not to abandon me in this extremity, but that I may be covered with thy holy grace, giving me pardon for all the negligences and faults, that I have committed against thy holy ordinances and commandments, even as it has pleased thee of thine especial grace to make me born a queen, *sacred*[1] and anointed in thy church. I have, nevertheless, always well considered and believed, as I do now, that this greatness could not render me excusable for my faults towards thee, being of like condition with other mortals, subject to thy righteous judgments, and most certain, that they cannot be those which are from the heart and from the thoughts of men, inconstant and variable as they full often

[1] Meaning *consecrated.*

are, and of their own movements forgetful and reckless, for example, even of the misery, that their pure ambition and envy have produced to me by the Queen of England, even to this bloody death, the which they have this long time premeditated and sworn against me.[1] I would not be ignorant, also, my God, but will freely say and confess, that I am, myself, often very far from the right course of thy ordinances, for which, and for all other faults, whatsoever they be, that I have committed, I very humbly supplicate, my God, that thou wouldst give me remission, even as I also, with a good heart, pardon all those who have offended me and have condemned me, by their iniquitous sentence, to this cruel death. Permit me, my God, that for my justification, I may yet, without offence to thee, and in a few words, inform all those in whose presence I shall render up my soul to thee, the rest of the realm, and the whole of Christendom, of the protestation that I make; which is, that I never have concerted, willed, conspired, nor in any sort given counsel nor aid, in any of the conspiracies of death, for the which I am here so falsely accused and so inhumanly treated, although I have often sought, with the aid of my friends, Catholics of this realm and elsewhere, by means free from

[1] See Leicester's letter and other papers in the supplementary portion of this volume.

guilt, and more suitable to me, such as I could sanction, to effect my escape from these miserable prisons, and to regain some liberty, without in any way offending against thy divine majesty, or troubling the peace of this kingdom. And if I have had any other intention, in this place, I beseech thee, that my soul may be deprived perpetually of the participation in thy mercy and grace, and of the fruits which she hopes and expects, from the death and passion of thy very dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ; and being innocent of all such treachery, I remit all my other faults and offences to thy holy and divine justice, by the invocation which I make to the glorious Virgin Mary, and to all the saints, angels, and the blessed who are in Paradise, that they will please to intercede now for me to God, and that I may be partaker, and reign perpetually with them, in the celestial glory."

Having finished this prayer,* she took a white

* "And now, being in her petticoat and kirtle prepared for death, her maids *skreeking* and crying out with exceeding sorrow, they crossed themselves and prayed aloud in Latin. The queen crossed and kissed them, and desired their prayers, without loud moaning, adding, "that she had passed her word for them;" then she crossed her men-servants, who stood without the rail, weeping and crying out. She then kneeled down upon her cushion, resolutely and undauntedly, and spoke aloud in Latin the whole of the psalm, *In te Domine confido.*" It was then, certainly, that she expected, at every passing instant, the stroke of death. "For," says the narrative by Pierre le Pesant Sieur du Bois Guilbert, "she knelt upright some time, expecting her head

linen kerchief that she had put into her mantle, and gave it to one of her damsels who were near her, saying, "Hold, bind my eyes with this linen, and abandon not my body, I pray you, in my extremity, while I shall be employed in the care of my soul." When her eyes were bound she was approached by a minister and the executioner, the latter dressed in a habit of black velvet. The minister wishing to give her counsel, began by saying, "Madame, the things of this world ought not to be thought of, but God alone."

The said lady demanded quickly of one of her damsels, "Tell me, is not this that speaks to me a minister, hide it not from me?"

The other replied, "Yes, madame."

Then she exclaimed, "Ah, my God, it makes me remember that Thou hast said, 'that we shall be sometimes assailed by the enemies of our souls at the hour of our death.'" And thereupon she uttered these verses from the seven penitential psalms, "Depart from me all ye who work

to be taken off with the stroke of a sword, as they do in France. But the executioner and his servant, having waited some time, placed her on the block. The executioner then gave her a stroke with an axe of the same shape of those which they cleave wood withal, without doing any further harm than wounding her scull, so awkward was he, then redoubling a second and third stroke, he at last cut off her head." It appears, nevertheless, that the first stroke rendered her insensible; for Sanderson's narrative declares "that she did not stir or move the least, though it took two strokes to separate her head from her body."

iniquity, for my God has heard the voice of my groaning. and he has received my prayer. My God, delay not, and go not far from me; hasten to me, my God, who art the author of my salvation."

Those who were there present, marvelled to behold the great beauty and courage of this poor princess, and the patience that supported her. The executioner approached her to do his office, which was done according to the fashion of this country, quickly enough. He having cut off her head, took it in his hand, saying in a loud voice, "Behold the head of Mary Stuart!" then he replaced it near the body, which was immediately covered by the said damsels with the black cloth which was round about, and they were permitted to raise it up and carry it into the chamber where the said Queen of Scotland had been accustomed to lie.

Most of the people present who had understood what the said lady had declared at her death, considered that she was innocent of everything that had been charged and imputed to her; and if her execution had been done in public, they were of opinion, which had been greatly rumoured abroad, that the said lady would have been succoured and delivered from this unjust judgment.

The tidings of this execution were greeted in London with their ringing of the bells in all the churches during four and twenty hours, and in

the evenings they made bonfires in all the streets of the city, and in every corner and cross-way, in token of rejoicing for their deliverance from the calamity, that had been predicted to this realm.

The said lady, Queen of Scotland, spake as above, in the English language, which has been translated and put in French.

Queen Elizabeth to King James VI.[p]

My dear brother,—I would you knew (though not felt) the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind for that *miserable accident*,[q] which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine,[r] whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is irksome for my pen to tell you.

[p] MS. Cottonian, Calig. c. ix. folio 161. That great historical antiquarian, Sir Henry Ellis, whose intimate acquaintance with the fountain-springs of history is only equalled by the sound inferences he draws from his knowledge, has asked the question whether Elizabeth was not really betrayed by her ministers when the warrant for the death of Mary Queen of Scots was actually executed? The more the cruelty of Burleigh and Walsingham, and the treachery of Leicester, best seen in their correspondence, is unveiled, the more this supposition would gain ground on the mind; were it not for the assassination letters just quoted, which prove that the queen wished Mary to be privately murdered, and not publicly executed; if, indeed, Walsingham and Davison have not joined in bearing false witness against their queen.

[q] Cutting off the head of his mother—by accident!

[r] Sir Robert Carey, son of Lord Hunsdon.

I beseech you—that as God and many *moe* know how innocent I am in this case—so you will believe me, that if I had bid aught, I would have abided by it. I am not so base-minded, that the fear of any living creature, or prince, should make me afraid to do that were just, or when done to deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But as, not to disguise fits not the mind of a king,[s] so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them to show even as I meant them. Thus assuring yourself of me, that as I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it, I would never lay it on others' shoulders; no more will I *not*[t] damnify myself that thought it not.

The circumstances[u] it may please you to *have* (learn) of this bearer (Robert Carey). And for your part, think not you have in the world a more loving kinswoman, nor a more dear friend than myself, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your state. And who shall otherwise persuade you, judge them more

[s] In this sentence, the use of the double negative, contrary to the rules of our language, has caused Elizabeth to contradict her evident meaning; she intends to say, "that disguise fits not the mind of a king," a precept certainly contrary to her own practice.

[t] Again her double negative contradicts her own meaning.

[u] That is how Davison despatched the warrant, and how it was executed without Elizabeth's knowledge—as she said.

partial to others than to you. And thus in haste, I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to send you a long reign. The 14th of February,[x] 1586-(7).

Your most assured loving sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

Enquiry before the House of Lords, May 10th, 1839, on the Destruction and Sale of Exchequer Documents.

Frederick Devon, Esquire, called in, and examined as follows:

When you were last before the committee, you were asked whether you could find any evidence relative to Popham, as connected with the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots; have you discovered any thing?

I have.

"To John Popham, esquire, hir Ma^tie Attorney-General, by way of reward for his travaile out of the countrey (which means *into* the country), and

[x] Seven days after the execution of Mary, Elizabeth had thoroughly persuaded her kinsman and messenger, Robert Carey, of the fact, that she was half broken-hearted for the death of her victim; for in a portion of his memoirs, written long after the death of both, he mentions the long-drawn sighs Elizabeth heaved just after the execution of Mary.

for his chardges and attendaunce from the middert of August 1586, unto the tenth day of October dño anno, at London and at the court, and for his pains in and about the examinacons, indictements, and trialls of Ballard, Babington, and the rest of the same conspiracy, and for his travaile, chardges and paines taken in the mattre of the Quene of Scottes at Fotheringay, and for his travail, paines and attendaunce taken in the draught of the commission and sentence, and other the proceedings against the said quene in the terme and vacacion time, and for his continual attendaunce from the begynning to the ende of this last parliament, by the Lord Treasurer and Under Treasurer's warr', dated the 2d Jany 1586—100*l.*"

The next entry is a payment of 100*l.* to Thomas Egerton, Esquire, her Majesty's Solicitor-General, who was also at the trial of the Queen of Scots. In the same book (previously) is a payment of 270*l.* to the said Attorney and Solicitor-General, for services which are contained in a warrant dated 11th May, 1586.

"To George Pette (who, I imagine, was Clerk of the Crown, or employed by the Attorney and Solicitor-General,) for his great travail and paynes imployed in and aboute the engrossing and enrollinge of the judgemts of the late convicted traitors, the great commission and all the proceedings

therein against the late Queen of Scottes and for giving his hoole attendance in and about the same, by the appointment and direction of M^r^ Attorney and M^r^ Solicitor-General, ever since Michaelmas terme and before—20*l.* And unto Thomas Wyndebanke, Clark of the Sygnet, for writing sundry commissions and lres in French in the great rolle conteyning the processe and sentence against the said Queen of Scottes—100^s^; by like warr^t^ dated the last of Dec^r^ 1586—25*l.*"

"To ..... by the hands of Richard Cupe, clerk unto the said cofferer, towards the provision of achates and victuals against the funeralles of the Scottishe Quene, by a privy seal, dated the 11^th^ of Julie, 1587—207*l.* 19*s.*"

"To William Dethicke, Garter Principal King-at-Arms, for a hearse and other provisions of heraldrie, that he and the rest of the heraldes were to make for the Scottish Quene's funerale, by privy seal 11^th^ of July, 1587—406*l.*"

"To Amias Poulett, knight, one of Hir Maj^tie^ privy counsaille, for the diettes and other his chardges susteyned in the custody of the late Quene of Scottes, until the tyme of hir decease and since, by a privy seal, dated 11th July, 1587—1300*l.*"

There are several payments for the diet of the

Queen of Scots in this book. There are payments to Davison of 500*l.*, and in the Book of Warrants (12 a.) William Davison has 1000*l.*, in October, 28 Eliz.; (*so that it would appear he was not in very great disgrace for the part he took*). 500*l.* is immediately after entered as being paid to the said William Davison, one of the queen's principal secretaries, also immediately afterwards is 1000*l.*; and I know, having seen it regularly entered on the Rolls, his pension was granted of 100*l.* a-year, which I have stated before in the preface to one of my books, even after James the First came to the throne, so that it would appear he either had great influence, or was not much disliked, although amerced 10,000*l.* in the Star Chamber, &c., and supposed to be under royal displeasure.

Where is this from?—The issue and other books in the Pell Office; but the chief of those are taken from books that were saved from the vault; and I find, on going through a book not saved from the vault, but in the Warrant Book, from the 12th of Elizabeth up to the 23rd of Elizabeth, an allowance was paid to the Earl of Shrewsbury of 52*l.* a-week, which appears to be paid about every six months, "for the maintenance and diet of the Queen of Scots;" it is paid from

that date to the 23rd of Elizabeth, and then it is decreased to 30*l.* a-week. There is a payment in "1584, 26th Eliz., to Bryan Cave, appointed for the removal of the Scottish Queen to Tuttebury, of 500*l.*;" and a payment, amongst others, "*to Monsieur Nau,*[y] *the Scottish Queen's servant,* 73*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*; to Sir Amias Poulett, 1300*l.*, for the diet, &c. of the late Queen of Scots." I was asked if I could find Beal's payment, who took the warrant down; I found the roll immediately before and after, but I question whether it would be there; I find the payment of his salary; he would be paid probably in one of the larger sums by the Lord High Treasurer, or by Walsingham. "In the 28th Eliz., 3600*l.* yearly is granted to Sir Amyas Paulet, for the custody and diet of the said Queen, out of the lands of Lord Paget." In the 29th Eliz., money is ordered "for the repairs at Fotheringay Castle, because the divers meetings and consultations of great importance had been held there." I believe that is the result of my search. Almost the whole of those I have

[y] This item deserves great attention, proving that Nau was, long before the fatal catastrophe of his unfortunate royal mistress, the paid agent of Queen Elizabeth. The Queen of Scots always paid him his wages and expenses, and had even provided a fund for that purpose in her will. See that document, vol ii., p. 145.

named, except the payments to Lord Shrewsbury, are from the books saved from the vaults.

Which would have been destroyed but for your inspection?—I do not say that; they were put by, by Mr. Bulley, as not to be destroyed; they would have been destroyed if they had remained in the vault.

HISTORICAL LETTERS AND INCIDENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE FOREGOING DOCUMENTS.

HISTORICAL LETTERS AND INCIDENTS

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THE FOREGOING DOCUMENTS.

THROUGHOUT the whole of the preceding collection of documents, allusions are made to the irreconcilable offence the unfortunate Mary had given to Queen Elizabeth by the adoption of the arms and style of Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Scottish confederate lords, and their ally John Knox, were the agents who excited in the bosom of Elizabeth the unextinguishable hatred for this supposed aggression, which never was allayed but by the blood of Mary. It is not difficult to perceive by the tone of the following papers, that the sole foundation for the accusation, which weighed so fatally against Mary in after life, was merely the quartering of the arms by way of augmentation at a tournament.

Just before the death of Mary's mother, Scotland, involved as it was in religious disputes, had been invaded by Queen Elizabeth under plea of affording support to the Reformers. Elizabeth was at that time a young woman, just settled on the throne of England. The

Scottish lords, confederated against the queen-regent, worked on the jealousy Elizabeth felt on account of her doubtful legitimacy, by inserting in their manifesto to that queen the following irritating information.*

Manifesto of the Scottish Lords.

"We know most certainly that the French have spread abroad (though most falsely), that our Queen Mary is right heir to England and Ireland; and to notify the same to the world, have, in paintings at public jousts in France and other places, this year, caused the arms of England, contrary to all right, to be borne publicly with the arms of Scotland, meaning nothing less than *any augmentation to Scotland*, to annex them both to the crown of France. And they have in *writings in wax*, in public seals, written, and engraven, adjoined the style of England and Ireland to the style of France, naming the French king, Francis II., husband to our queen and sovereign Mary, King of France, Scotland, England, and Ireland. Also they have further proceeded and secretly sent into this realm of Scotland, a seal to be used for the queen with the same style, and in manner of despite to the crown of England, they have sent to the dowager of Scotland her mother, a staff for her to rest upon, having engraven on the top the said usurped arms."

* Sadler Papers, vol. i., p. 606.

[True or false, this information never ceased to rankle in Elizabeth's mind while the troublous existence of her rival lasted. No person, however, ever saw this redoubted seal and staff, excepting Master Knox, whose most curious letter on a subject which brought such fatal results to his unfortunate queen, here follows. Its leading spirit is assuredly that of the church *militant.*]

John Knox to Mr. Railton.[b]

Your letters, long looked for, received I in Edinburgh this 23rd of October. It is most assured that such a jewel (*the great seal just described*), as your writings do specify, is lately *comed* to our realm, but it is kept marvellous secret,[c] and the rather because these cold blasts of winter be able to cause the beauty of such Mayflowers to fade.

Thus much my eyes saw and my hands touched, a

[b] In the Sadler Papers, vol. i, pp. 680, 681, 682, may be seen this document, in the orthography used by Master John himself, who wrote fair English for the era, with very few north country words or idioms.

[c] That is, it never existed, excepting in the brains of the polemics who invented the description of it, to excite the fury of Queen Elizabeth. For the great seal of a kingdom to be kept "marvellous secret," which is used for the purpose of authenticating public documents, would be a strange anomaly. The political polemics of that day, on both sides the question, would have been wonderfully improved in their morals by the castigation of our present periodical press, for their conduct looks ugly enough in documentary history.

trim staff for the queen, then regent (Mary of Guise), sent from the persons whom before ye did specify, in which were all things which ye express gorgeously engraved on silver, and double gilt. This staff was sent in the month of May, in the same ship in which I came to Scotland, and was shown to me in great secrecy.

The number and names of my needy brethren I did signify to such as be in your company, and to the man above, (*supposed to be Cecil*). The number is now augmented, and their poverty also in such sort, that if relief be not speedily provided, I fear that more than I will mourn when we may not so well amend it. God comfort them, for their battle is strong!

The alteration that be here is this: the queen-regent, with public consent of the lords and barons assembled, is deprived of all authority and *regiment* (regimen) among us. She, her Frenchmen, and assistants, are, by open proclamation, declared and denounced enemies and traitors to this commonwealth, for that, being thrice required and charged to desist from fortifying Leith, she and they do obstinately proceed in their wicked enterprise. This was done Monday, before noon. There shall be appointed to occupy the authority a great council, the president and head whereof shall be my lord *Duck*.

[Which *Duck* was Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the general of Queen Elizabeth's invading force, who was

afterwards beheaded for endeavouring to espouse Mary Queen of Scots. Master John resumes.]

The authority of the French king and queen (Mary) is *yet* received, and will be in *word*, till they deny our most just requests, which ye shall, God willing, shortly hereafter understand, together with our whole proceedings in the beginning of this matter, which we are to set forth in manner of history. The battle is begun sharp enow, God give the issue to his glory and to our comfort.

She (the queen-regent) hath yet small advantage for the death of two of our soldiers, and for the hurting of three gentlemen; she hath lost two captains, and hath sore wounded many of her chief soldiers, to the number of twenty upon one day. They brag, and the queen especially, that ye (the English) will leave us in the midst of this trouble; and this (news) she hath by her last post, which came by you. My battle hath to this day been very bitter; but if ye frustrate my expectation, and the promises that I have made in your name, I heed not how few my dolorous days may be. What God hath wrought by me in this matter I will not now recite, but this I may say, that such offers are refused that *mo* (more) do judge us fools than praise our constancy.

We are determined to assay (try) the uttermost; but first we must have five thousand soldiers; for if we assault and be repulsed, then shall our enterprise be in

great hazard, and our commons not able to abide together. Give advertisement, therefore, to such as favour us, that without delay our support be sent, as well by money as by men. If your eyes be single, ye may not *let* (hinder) succour to our present necessity. I must further require you to be a suitor to all such, as ye know to be unfeigned favourers, and especially to our brethren in London, to have respect to our necessity.

The French ships keep the waters here, which is to us a great an(noyance), and unto them a great relief. Provision would be had at times, which we cannot watch, by reason that all our ships are absent, and, as we fear, staid (detained,) as many as be in France. I cannot write to any especial for lack of opportunity, for in twenty-four hours I have not four, free, to natural rest and ease of this wicked carcase.

Remember my last request for my mother (Mrs. Bowes), and say to Mr. George, (probably George Bowes), that I have need of a good and assured horse, for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promised to any that shall kill me; and yet would I hazard to come to you, if I were assured that I might be permitted to open my mouth to call *agin* to Christ Jesus those unthankful children who *allate* (lately) have appeared utterly to have forgotten his loving mercies, which sometimes I supposed they had embraced. And

this part of my care now poured into your bosom, I cease further to trouble you, being troubled myself, in body and spirit, for the troubles that be present and appear to grow. God give end to his glory, and to our comfort. This 23rd of October, at midnight.

P. S. Many things I have to write which now time suffereth not; but after, if ye make haste with this messenger, ye shall understand more .... (*then some illegible words.*) I write with—sleeping eyes.

Advertise me if all things come to your hands close, (viz., sealed up.)

[Such, as the writer himself says, "set forth in manner of history," is a lively picture of the proceedings in Scotland a few months before the return of Queen Mary, who was called on, by adverse circumstances, to govern a country, thus convulsed, while yet in her teens; the author of the foregoing epistle being the spiritual guide, with undefined authority in the land.]

The fact that Darnley was a Catholic, is a circumstance strongly tending to acquit Mary of his death; and, at the same time, it offers a reasonable motive for the determination to destroy him evinced by the lords leagued in the Calvinist interest, as Murray, Morton, and Bothwell.

The fact that Darnley's mother brought him up a Catholic, and that she was so herself, has not been sufficiently insisted upon in history. An extract in Italian, given by Mr. Tytler, from a MS. in the possession of Prince Labanoff, copied from the original among the Medicis Papers, to which the prince had access, puts Darnley's religious tendencies beyond all doubt. This valuable passage casts a new and strong light, not only on the motives for Darnley's death, but on the manner of it. The original Italian of which this is a translation is in Mr. Tytler's Appendix, vol. vii., p. 369.]

The Papal Nuncio at Paris to the Grand Duke of Florence.

[After stating the arrival of Father Edmonds and M. de Morett, the ambassador at Paris, the latter proceeds thus to narrate the murder of Darnley.]

As to the particulars of the death of the king, the said M. de Morett is strongly of opinion, that this poor prince, hearing the rumour of the people round about the house, and that they were trying, with false keys, to open it, rushed out of it by a door that led to the garden in his shirt, with his pelisse, in order to flee from the peril, and there (*i. e.* in the garden) was strangled, and then taken out of the garden into a little orchard without the walls of the grounds; and then the house was

destroyed by fire (blown up), to kill the rest that remained within, that they might not guess how the king came to be found dead in his shirt, with his pelisse by his side.[1] And some women who dwell in the vicinity of the garden, affirm to have heard the king cry out, "Ah! brethren, have pity on me for the love of Him who had mercy on all the world!"

And Father Edmonds declared to me, that the king the same morning had, according to his wont, heard mass, and that he had always been brought up by his mother as a Catholic, but, for the desire of reigning, had turned deceptively from the ancient religion. Thus may divine Majesty have mercy on his poor soul . . . . .

Paris, March 16, 1567.

[Collated and certified by the Archivista, 17th of February, 1840.]

Dec. 1568.

[Lord Herries made a speech before the commissioners at York on behalf of Queen Mary, when the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph

[1] This account exactly agrees with the curious plan of the scene of the murder at Kirk-a-Field and its vicinity, with the king's body, which is drawn with his pelisse lying by his side. This ancient drawing is at the State Paper Office.

Sadler sat in judgment, to hear what the Earl of Murray, Morton, Lindsay, and the rest of the party confederated against her, had to say against her; and what Lord Herries, Lord Boyd, the Bishop of Ross, and other attached of Queen Mary, could say in her behalf; such, at least, was the ostensible purpose of this congress.]

Harangue of Lord Herries.[c]

My Lords,—We are heartily sorry to hear that these our countrymen should intend to colour their most unjust, ingrate, and shameful doings (as to the world is apparent) against their native liege lady and mistress that hath been so beneficial to them. Her grace (Queen Mary) hath made the greatest of them, from mean men, in their own callings, earls and lords; and now, without any evil deserving of her grace's part to any of them, in deed or word, to be thus recompensed with calumnious and false-invented *bruits* (reports), whereof they themselves, that now pretend herewith to excuse their open treasons, were the first inventors, writers with their own hands of that devilish *band* (compact), the conspiracy of the slaughter of that innocent young gentleman, Henry Stuart (Lord Darnley), late spouse to our sovereign, and presented to their wicked confederate, James, Earl of Bothwell, as was made manifest before ten thousand

[c] Sadler Papers, vol. ii., p. 334.

people present at the execution of certain the principal offenders in Edinburgh.[f] But seeing they (*i. e.* Murray, Morton, &c.) can get no other cause to this their treasonable usurpation and manifest wrongs,—yea, such usurpation and wrongs, as never hath been seen the like, that subjects should do before, for the first and best of them hath not in parliament the first vote of eighteen of that realm. (*This seems to mean, that the lord of the highest rank of Mary's accusers was only the nineteenth in precedency among the Scottish nobility.*)

No, no, my lords, this is not the cause why they have put their hands on their sovereign, the anointed of God; we will plainly declare the very truth and cause of their usurpation. The queen's highness, (Mary), our and their native sovereign, being of herself, as is well known, a liberal princess, gave them in her youth, for their *unshamefaced* begging, without their often deserving, two parts of the patrimony pertaining to the crown of Scotland;[g] and when her grace came to further years and

[f] This alludes to some dying confession of the wretched agents of the confederate lords who murdered Darnley, which does not of course appear among their confessions wholly edited by Mary's enemies.

[g] This speech of Lord Herries, whose manly character gives great weight to whatever he said or wrote, deserves consideration on this point; which it is not difficult to be tested; he might have added that Morton had a peculiar and selfish interest to destroy Lord Darnley, since he was the claimant, by the female line, of the earldom of Angus, and much of the patrimony of the house of Douglas; his mother, Lady Margaret Douglas, heiress of the last Earl of Angus,

more perfect understanding, (seeing that her successors, kings of that realm, might not maintain their state upon the third part—albeit her grace might, for the time, having so great dowry of France, and other casualties not belonging to the Scottish crown)—and for their evil deservings, procuring her slander, as far as in them was, slaying her secretary, David Rizzio, an Italian, in her grace's presence, caused her [to] use the privilege of the laws always granted to the kings of that realm before the full age of twenty-five years—they understanding this to be a way, when it pleased her grace, and her successors by the laws, to take from them the livings (estates) before given them.

When they had herein advised with their Machiavellis' doctrine, seeing her son an infant not a year old, they could find no better way than to cut off their sovereign liege lady (which, if it had not been for the queen's majesty of this realm's great diligence, without doubt had been done), for they understood they might long possess their [gains] ere that infant had wit or power to displace them,[h] and, in the meantime, get great riches, under colour of a pretended authority. It was not the punish-

being his daughter by the queen-dowager of Scotland (sister of Henry VIII.) had long claimed possessions held by Morton, heir male of the house of Douglas.

[h] This speech of Lord Herries shows that each of the confederate lords had a selfish pecuniary interest to institute a long minority, instead of obeying an adult sovereign.

ment of that slaughter (the death of Darnley) that moved them to this proud rebellion, but the usurping of their sovereign's supreme authority to possess themselves of her riches and true subjects, we will boldly avow, and constantly do affirm the same, as by the sequel doth and shall plainly appear.

And as the queen's majesty (Elizabeth) hath written and said, she neither could nor would be judge in this case, considering the queen's grace, our mistress, and her progenitors have been free princes. Neither yet would her highness (Elizabeth) suffer them to come into her presence[1] that had thus used their native sovereign. So we cannot doubt but your right honourable lordships (the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler), reporting this to her majesty (Elizabeth), we shall find her of that good mind and disposition to our sovereign—her majesty's own blood—who, upon the affirmed promise of friendship and assistance between them, of her own free option and voluntary will is come into this realm, suing her highness's (Elizabeth's) help that her grace (Mary) may enjoy her own again, given her of God.

[1] In this she did not keep her word, for when Murray and the rest of the accusers found that the commissioners of York were inclined to doubt the guilt of Mary, they went to Elizabeth at Hampton Court, where Murray had many private interviews with her, and shewed her the celebrated gilt casket, and the forged love-letters of Mary to Bothwell.

Howbeit, our sovereign had not time to advise with her states, but in a very simple manner put herself in her majesty's (Elizabeth's) hands upon these promises, trusting only in her majesty's honour; and at her highness's (Elizabeth's) commandment and promises of assistance, hath left the seeking of aid of other princes, having no other but her majesty's (Elizabeth's) high honour to appeal her cause to.

And that ye, my lords, of the noble ancient blood of this realm, are convened to hear and understand this cause, and that your honours shall report the same to your sovereign is our great comfort, to expect good answer, which we humbly require.

[When the investigation at Westminster regarding Mary's guilt or innocence broke up, challenges passed between her defenders and her enemies, which La Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador, notices thus.]

"The matter of the Queen of Scots seems to take another course to what her adversaries thought, who have begun, just now, to send cartels for combat, because they are themselves charged with rebellion, treason, and even with the murder of the late King of Scots (Darnley), of which they accused their queen. The Bishop of Ross has been countermanded to Hampton Court on this

business; he will inform me of all that will be proposed to him, for the purpose of having my advice."

These combats were, most likely, prevented by this conference of the bishop and the queen (Elizabeth). It must be remembered, that it was the enemies of Mary, and not her friends, who, after a congress in which their accusations against her were heard with excessive partiality, made an appeal to brute force. The intrepid firmness with which Herries maintains his assertions in the face of this cartel, though in a country incipiently hostile, does honour to himself and to his cause. Here are the cartels.

Challenge to Lord Herries by Lord Lindsay.[1]

Lord Herries,—I am informed that ye have spoken and affirmed that my Lord Regent's Grace (Murray) and his company, here present, were guilty of the abominable murder of *umquhile* (the late) king, our sovereign

[1] From Pepysian Collection of State Papers, Magdalen College, Cambridge, fol. 148. It is here given in English orthography, no original word, however, being altered. These cartels are mentioned in the despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, vol. 1. p. 102. Lindsay, who was one of Rizzio's assassins, and the most brutal of Mary's enemies, was then at Kingston, close to Hampton Court, where Elizabeth gave frequent audience to the accusers of Mary, when the commissioners at York were found to be favourable to her. Lindsay was said to be ferocious, but utterly ignorant; and it may be observed he does not write, but only signs, this cartel. He was one of the Scotch commissioners against Queen Mary in the course of the inquiry then pending.

lord's father. If ye have so spoken ye have said untruly, and therein have lied in your throat; which I will maintain, God willing, against you as becomes me of honour and duty, and hereupon I desire your answer.

Subscrivit with my hand, at Kingston, the 22nd day of of December, 1568

PATRICK LINDSAY.

Lord Herries' answer to the above challenge, carried by John Hamilton, of Broomichill.

Lord Lindsay,—I have seen *ane* writing of yours, the 22nd of December, and thereby understand—"Ye are informed that I have said and affirmed, that the Earl of Murray, whom ye call your regent, and his company, are guilty of the queen's husband's (Darnley's) slaughter, father to our prince; and if I have said it I have lied in my throat, which ye will maintain against me as becomes you of honour and duty."

In respect they have accused the queen's majesty, mine and your native sovereign, of that foul crime, for by the duty that good subjects owe, or ever has been seen to do to their native sovereign, I have said,—"There is of that company[k] present, with the Earl of Murray,

[k] Lord Herries points here at the Earl of Morton, and his words perfectly coincide with Bothwell's death-bed confession. Morton was one of the Scotch commissioners for accusing his queen of the crime of which he was convicted, and for which he was executed

guilty of that abominable treason, in the fore-knowledge and consent thereto."

That ye were privy to it, Lord Lindsay, I know not; and if ye will say I have specially spoken of you, ye have lied in your throat, and that I will defend as my honour and duty becomes me. But let aught of the principals that is of them, subscribe the like writing ye have sent to me, and I shall point them forth and fight with some of the traitors therein; for meetest it is that traitors should pay for their own treason.

Off London, this 22nd December, 1568.

HERYS.

The Forged Love-letters and Silver-gilt Casket.

It may be expected that, in a collection of Mary Queen of Scots' letters, some notice ought to be taken of our reasons for rejecting the notorious series of love-letters to Bothwell, attributed to this queen, and produced by her enemies in a gilt silver casket, at the investigation before the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex,

many years afterwards. Lord Herries, the same day, namely, December 22, when he received this challenge, sent copies of Lindsay's cartel and his answer to the Earl of Leicester, and declared his willingness to maintain all he had said in defence of his queen, at any hour or time. All Mary's accusers had their hands stained with Rizzio's blood; her defenders were men like Herries, of unblemished honour and character.

and Sir Ralph Sadler, at York, as the sole grounds on which her enemies founded their accusations of her participation in the death of her husband. This question was so ably analysed by the elder Mr. Tytler, that Dr. Johnson, after reading the statements, declared that these letters could never more be attributed to Mary, Queen of Scots. Dr. Johnson was no particular judge of historical documents, but he is a great authority on all questions of moral justice, and he founded his verdict on the irrefragable facts, that the accused queen was neither suffered to see the originals of the letters she was accused of writing, nor even, when she implored for copies, was she permitted to have them. Had the fabrications been far more ingenious than they were, the accusers of Mary pronounced their own doom in the opinions of posterity by such conduct.

The following is the summary of facts relating to these letters:—

The silver-gilt casket was a genuine one; it had been given to Queen Mary by her first husband, Francis II. Her enemies had no difficulty in obtaining that or any other of her goods, since when transferred to her Lochleven prison, her worldly possessions were limited to the clothes she wore. It is with the contents of the casket that her guilt or innocence is implicated. No state-

ment agrees as to the number of the letters stated to have been found therein, which were without date, superscription, signature or seals; some love verses were found in it, which were foreign to the subject. The accusers stated, "That in the Castle of Edinburgh this casket was left by the Earl of Bothwell before his fleeing away, and he sent for it by one George Dalgleish, his servant, who was taken by the Earl of Morton with this small gilt coffer, not fully a foot long, garnished in sundry places with the Roman letter F, under a king's crown, wherein were certain letters and writings well known, and by oaths affirmed to have been written with the Queen of Scots' own hand to the Earl of Bothwell;" and a promise of marriage written in Roman hand, in French, avowed to be written by the Queen of Scots herself, without date, but surmised to have been written *before* the death of her husband Lord Darnley.

The Accusers brought the following Articles against Queen Mary.

1st. The Earl of Morton at first produced those letters, and affirmed, on his word of honour, that his servants seized them on the person of George Dalgleish, one of the Earl of Bothwell's servants, who had brought them out of the Castle of Edinburgh.

2nd. The Earls of Murray and Morton affirm on their honour, that they are the handwriting of their queen, in their own council in the regent's parliament in Scotland, and before Queen Elizabeth and her council in England.

3rd. They were produced at York and Westminster, before the English privy council, and compared with other letters of Queen Mary's handwriting, and *appear* to be similar.

4th. Lastly, several of the incidents mentioned in the letters themselves, such as the conversations between the king and queen at Glasgow, are, by Crawford, one of the vassals of the Earl of Lenox, affirmed on oath to be true.

Queen Mary's Answers.

1st. Queen Mary denies the letters to be her handwriting, and asserts them to be forged by her accusers, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, and offers to prove this.

2nd. Morton's bare affirmation of the way in which the letters came into his hands, as he is a party, cannot, in equity, be regarded. Nay, the letters appearing first in *his* hands was of itself suspicious; besides, his stifling[1] the evidence of Dalgleish, or forbearing to interrogate him judicially how he came by these letters, and his neglecting to examine his own servants publicly, who seized

[1] By the best possible means: the confederate lords had the poor wretch hanged, January, 1568, some months before the letters were mentioned by their party as evidence against Queen Mary.

Dalgleish with the box, and in the place of the legal declaration of the proper witnesses, obtruding his *own affirmation* only,—these omissions double the suspicion that he himself and his faction were the contrivers of the letters.

3rd. The affirmation of Murray and Morton on the authenticity of the letters, both in Scotland and England, can bear no greater degree of credit than the Queen Mary's denial, and the affirmation of herself and most of the nobility of Scotland, that those letters *were* forged.

4th. The similarity of one handwriting to another, is such proof as no man can be certain of, far less in the case of letters appearing in so clandestine a way in the hands of Morton, the queen's inveterate enemy and accuser. She affirmed, and offered to prove, that Lethington, her secretary of state, had often imitated her hand.

5th. That several of the incidents mentioned in the letters may be true, according to Crawford's evidence, is not denied; yet the letters themselves might be forged.

To these may be added the following still more important articles of defence, which it was impossible for Queen Mary or her friends to use, for the simple reason they were forbidden all sight of the writings brought in evidence against her. By the comparison of later documentary histories of the minutes of the Scotch parliament and English privy council, the following facts have been

elicited, although from the records of her accusers and adversaries.

1st. The letters, as exhibited by Murray and Morton, wanted dates, place, subscriptions, seals, and address. Would any judge or jury, in honester times, have admitted such documents as evidence upon the bare word of the accuser?

2nd. Why were not Hubert (who swore he got them when first written, from the queen's own hand, and delivered them to Bothwell,) and Dalgleish (who swore that he got the whole collection in the casket from Sir James Balfour, in the Castle of Edinburgh, to carry to Bothwell,) brought forward to support the affirmation of the Earl of Morton? The truth is, the queen's enemies had hanged them before they produced the letters, therefore they could not bear evidence of any kind.

3rd. The letters were produced with variations in different places; before Murray's secret council they were produced as if with the queen's signature, but when they were submitted to the examination of the Scots parliament they were not signed; it was here that the chief of the nobility of Scotland must have seen them, if, according to Queen Mary's defence, they declared they were forgeries. The variation of the appearance of the letters is proved from comparison of the acts of council and registers of parliament. Tests better understood at this

hour, by the reading public, than when the elder Tytler, Whittaker, Goodall, and even Chalmers, examined these evidences.

4th. While the investigation was going on at York, the letters were privately, and in secret conference, shown by Lethington and Buchanan to the English commissioners, but carefully concealed from Queen Mary and her advocates.

5th. Queen Mary, on first hearing of these letters, earnestly supplicated to have inspection of the originals, and to be allowed copies; from either of which she affirmed she could prove them spurious. Both requests were denied; the letters were delivered back to her accusers; and, to her dying day, she never obtained a sight of them, or of attested copies.[m]

Before this subject is dismissed, we give the description of these letters (as far as can be gathered from an inquisition secret and partial, and therefore iniquitous), from the State Paper Office.

Journal of the Commissioners, Wednesday, Dec. 8, (1568), *at Westminster, altered and interlined in Cecil's hand.*

"This day, the Earl of Murray, according to the appointment yesterday, came to the queen's commissioners,

[m] The document by which Mary's commissioners, in her name, earnestly demanded a sight of the original letters, is printed by Goodall, and quoted by Dr. Lingard, vol. viii., p. 31.

saying, 'That as they had yesternight produced and showed sundry writings, tending to prove the hatred the Queen of Scots bore to her husband, at the time of his murder, wherein, also, they said might appear special arguments of her inordinate love of Earl Bothwell. And so thereupon they produced several writings, written in French, of the same Roman hand as others her letters, which were showed yesternight, and avowed by them to be written by the said Queen of Scots.' Which *seven* writings, being copied, were read in French, and a due collation made thereof as near as could be by writing and inspection, and made to accord with the *originals*, which the Earl of Murray required to be *re-delivered*[n] to him, and did thereupon deliver the copies."

The tenors of all which *seven* writings here follow in order, the first being a sonnet, (*a long sonnet*, as it is called in another writing in the State Paper Office), commencing,

O Dieux ayez de moi.

This quotation from a long poem is the only particle of the original French of these papers, adduced in the State Paper Office of Journals of Council. It was probably the original occupant of the casket when it fell into the

[n] Here they are *re-delivered to the accusers*, the defenders of Mary not being present, and no notation made that they were shewn to them.

hands of Mary's enemies; there is not the slightest evidence in the structure of the poem that Queen Mary was the original author of it, though she might have copied it, as many young ladies copy verses for their albums. It consists of forty quartrains, and may be a song of the troubadours three hundred years before, for aught that appears to the contrary, for neither Bothwell's name,* or Mary's, or Scotland, or any place therein, or any person belonging to them, appears in *one line* of the original French!! It was an absurdity to deem this poem evidence one way or other.

In the State Paper Office, the following garbled fragments occur in broad Scotch, which surely must have been less intelligible to the learned nobles of Elizabeth's court than Mary's French letters. Here follow specimens, but wherefore in Scotch is the mystery of that iniquity? For we all know Mary could not write, till three or four years after her domestication in England, intelligible composition in any of our insular dialects. Her Scotch secretaries wrote Scotch documents for her, some of which are in this collection; but the love-letters of the silver-gilt casket are not pretended to be secretary work.

* There has been a translation of these verses made in English, where the name of Bothwell appears at least twenty times in the course of the poem, while in the original French, printed on the other side of the page, it appears *not once*; surely, this is a labour of love in the cause of falsehood!

Notes drawn furth of the Quenis Letters sent to the Earl Bothwell, State Paper Office.

Imprimis, after long discourse of her conference with the king (Darnley) her husband, she writes to the said earl in these terms:—

"This is my fust jurnay, I sall end the same the morne. I wreit on all thingis howbeit they be of littil weycht. I am doin ane worke hin that I haiste gretlie. Haif ye not desyr to lauche to sie me lie sa weil, and to til hym the truth betwix handis."

Item, shortly after. "We are coupled with twae fals racis. The devil syndere us, and God mot knit us togidder for ever for the maist faithful cupple that ever he unitit. This is my faith, I will die in it."

Item. "I am not weill at ease, and reit verray glaid to wreit to yow quhen the reist ar slep, and sin that I canna sleip as thei do, and as I wald desyir, that is in your harmis ma deir luife."

Item. "Adverteis me quhat ze haif deliberat to do in the matere, ze knaw upoun this point to the end we mai understonde utheris well, that naething thoir throw be spilt."

Item, thus she concludes the letter. "Wareil mocht this pokishe[r] mon be that causes haif sa meikell pane, for

[r] Darnley was ill of the small-pox, and in danger of his life;—it is well known that Mary attended on him.

without him, I wald haif ane far mair plesant subject to discourse upoun. He is not o'er meikle spilt, but he has gotten verray mekill, he has almaist slone me with his braith; it is war not zour unclis, and zeit I cum na neirer, but sat in ane chair at the bed feete, and he beand at the uther end thurfores."

Item. "Thereafter ye gar me dissemble sa far that I haif horring thairat, and ze caus me almaist do the office of an trahators. Remember you, if it war not to obey yow, I had raither be deid nor I did it, my heairt blidis at it. Summa, he will not cum with me, except upoun conditioun that I sall be at bed an bourd with hym as of befoir, and that I sall leif him na efter."

Item, shortly after. "Summa, he will gae upoun my word to all plaices. Alace, I never dissavit any bodie, bot I remit me altogidder to your will. Send me advertisement quhat I sal do, and quhatsoever sal cum theirof, I sal obey yow advis to with yourself, yf ye can fynd out any mair secreit invention be medecin, and the baith at Craigmillar."

Item. "Thoirafter I sall draw out al thinges out of hym, gif ye will that I advow al thinges to him, bot I will never rejois to dissave any bodie that trustis in me, zet, notwithstanding, ye may command me in al thingis. Haif no evil opinioun of me for that cause, be reason ye

ar the occasioun of it your sel, because, for my awn particular revenge, I wold not do it to hym."

Item, after. "For certaintie he suspectis that thing ye know, and *of his lyif*;[1] bot as to the last, how soon I speke twa or thrie guid wordis anto. him, he rejois and is out of doubt."

Item, thereafter. "Be not offendit, for I gif not our mekill credyt, now sence to obay yow, my deir luife, I spair nouther honor, consciens, na gretner quhatsumever. I pray yow tak it in guid pairt, and not after the interpretation of your fals guid brither, to quhom, I pray ye, gif nae credens agains the maist faythful trew luifer that ever ye had, or ever sal haif. Sie not hir quhais fenzeit tearis suld not be sa mekill prayit nor estemyt as the trew and faythfull travaillis quhilk I sustene to merit hir plaice for obtening of quhilk againis my naturall, I betraie them that may impesch me. God forgive me, and God gif yow, my only luif, the hape and prosperitie that your humbel and faithful luif desiris to yow, quha hopis schortlie to be ane uther thing unto yow"

Item. "In the credit gifin to the berar, quhom we understand was Pareis (*the same as Hubert*), 'remembre

[1] Can any one of common sense believe that a letter containing such a sentence as this, written in her usual hand, would have been given personally by Queen Mary to such a profligate fellow as Hubert (who is the same as French Paris named soon after), without either address or seal?

yow of the purpois of the Ladie Reires, of the ludgene in Edinburt.'"

Item, in ane uther lettre sent be Betour. "As to me, howbeit, I heir noe farther newes from yow, according to my commissioner I bring the man with me to Craigmillar upon Monday quhair he will be al Wednisday. An I will gang to Edinburt to draw bluid of me; gif, gif in the mean time, I get na newes in the contrair from yow."

Item, verray schortlie after. "Summa, ze will say, he makis the court to me of the qwhuilt; I tak so great pleasur that I never enter quhair is he, bot incontinent I tak the sickness in my side,[r] I so fashit with it. Yf Pareis (Hubert) bring me that qwhilk I send him for, I treast it sal amend me. I pray yow adverties me of your newes, at length, and quhat I sal do in cais ze be not returned quhen I cum thair; for in cais ye work not wyselie, I sie that the haill burthen of this will fal on my schulderis. Provide for all thinges, and discours upon it first yowrself."

Item, in ane uther lettre. "I pray yow, according to yowr promeis, to discharg yowr hart to me, utherwayis I will not think that my malheure, and the quid com-

[r] Mary Queen of Scots had through life an occasional pain in her side, which appears to have proceeded from a chronic liver complaint; of course all persons about her household and court knew this circumstance as well as herself.

posing of thaim, that hes not the thried pairt of the faithful and willing obedyens unto yow that I beyre has wyn againes my will, that advantaig over me quhilk the secund luif of Jason wan not that I would compair yow to ane sa unhappie as he was, nor yit myself to ane so unpetifult a woman as sche, howbeit, ye cause me to be somquhat lyck unto hir in ony thing that twichis yow, or that may help and keep yow to hir, to quhome ye onlie appertain; yf it may be suer that I may appropriat that is wonne throuth fayfful, yea, onlie luffing yow quhilk I do, and sal do al the dayis of my lyif, for pane and peril that can cum thereof. I recompans of the quhilk, and of al the yvels quhilk ye have been caws of to me, remember yow upon the place here beside," &c.

Such is the principal specimen of the species of evidence preserved by the transcription of the clerks of Elizabeth's privy council, as extracts of the letters which the mortal foes of Mary Stuart brought before her inimical relative, Queen Elizabeth and her council; neither in which, or in three other papers, does *one* word occur of the original French wherein these letters were said to be written; nor is there any reason why Elizabeth's council-clerks should not have transcribed the original French in preference to the barbarous Scotch, in which these strange documents were couched. French and Latin documents occur so profusely among the English

archives, that there cannot exist a doubt that if *French letters*, of Mary's writing, had been laid before the privy council of Elizabeth, French copies would have been quoted as evidence in the current journal of the privy council, instead of these barbarous Scotch fragments, which Murray's conclave had fabricated for the information of the lower members of the Scottish parliament.

It is probable that the casket, containing a poem written in Mary's hand, might have been seized, and, by an equivocating comparison, tested with the correspondence Mary had previously sent to Elizabeth, and probably found to correspond; for that French poem might allude to a hundred pair of lovers, in ancient and contemporary history—and, what is still more likely, in romance—for, as beforesaid, there is not *one* name in the French verses even to identify the century of Mary, much less her person.

Much stress has been laid by Robertson, on the difficulty that any forger would have had to encounter, in forging from seven to ten long letters in Mary's hand, in French; but he ought first to have been certain that her hand was ever imitated.* It is our firm belief

* A *copy* of one letter in French, supposed to belong to this series, was found by Mr. Laing in the State Paper Office, its contents are, however, of little moment. Mr. Laing did not, however, pretend the letter he found in the State Paper Office is in Mary's *very well known hand*; it may have been composed by her enemies, as well as the Scotch fragments, and the Latin letters fabricated by Buchanan.

that Murray's black conclave took no such trouble; for the clumsy specimens of their skill, extant on the privy council journals, lead us to deem they did not proceed in so workmanlike a manner, but merely composed the broad Scotch fragments, which they pretended were translations from French originals, never seen or pretended to be seen by mortal eyes, save their own and a junta of Elizabeth's privy council; while all they had of French composition were the verses, which they construed to suit Mary's case, and which might, indeed, have been seized in her hand, and proved the stalking-horse for comparisons. Buchanan's Latin letters (at the end of the composition he calls his Detection), which he passes off as the translation of these love-letters of Mary, of course, merit no more notice than the question—Why did he not print the original French?

It may be considered a matter of curiosity to ascertain what became of this fatal gilt silver casket, with its iniquitous contents, which, futile as they would have appeared to a modern judge and jury, weighed heavily against the unfortunate Mary of Scotland? The last time this celebated casket, with its contents, was seen, was about the time of Charles II., in the possession of the Marquis of Douglas;[1] they are supposed to have been consumed in the fire of 1758, which destroyed Castle

[1] Quoted by Goodal from an anonymous historian of that era.

Douglas, and all its furniture and paintings. If the casket was indeed in the hands of the Douglas family, James I. could not have destroyed it, as some enemies of his line have insinuated. The State Paper Council Journal asserts, the *seven* papers were *re-delivered* (*i. e.* restored) to the Earl of Murray, therefore the last authentic notice of them commits them to the secret keeping of the confederates against Mary, in whose possession documentary history leaves them; therefore the fact, that the casket and contents finally remained with the heirs of the Earl of Morton (the man who had first produced them), and were destroyed with the muniments of the Douglas family, in their ancient feudal castle, may be true.

1569.

During the northern rebellion of 1569,[u] the regent Murray, endeavoured to bargain with Queen Elizabeth to put his unfortunate sister, the Queen of Scots, into his hands, in exchange for the Earls of Westmorland and Northumberland. An English spy, Robert Constable (too good a name for so treacherous a man), was in treaty with Sir Ralph Sadler to betray the Earl of Westmorland to the mercy of Elizabeth. This man, who was, without knowing it, a narrator and author of no little

[u] Sadler Papers, vol. ii., p. 118, edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq.

power, describes, in one of his most interesting letters, a scene at a common hostelry, where (when he was creeping about his dirty errand) he stole in among the outlaws of Tynedale, and heard, in their company, an expression of public feeling respecting the Queen of Scots, which might have shamed the regent Murray, and his ally, Queen Elizabeth.

"So I left Farnihurst, and went to mine host's house, where I found many guests, of divers fashions, some outlaws of England, some of Scotland, and some neighbours thereabouts, at cards, some [playing] for ale, some for plack[x] and hardheads. So, after I had diligently inquired that here was none of any surname that had me on deadly feud, nor none that knew me, I sat down and played for *hardheads* amongst them, where I heard, *vox populi*, that the lord regent (Murray) would not, for his own honour, nor for the honour of his country, deliver the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, if he had them both, unless it were to have *their* queen (Mary of Scots) delivered to him. An' if he would agree to make that change, the borderers would start up in his own country, and *reive* (seize) both the earls and the queen from him; and that he had better cut his own

[x] Small coins used in Scotland; a *plack* and a *baubee* was, in the last century, named as the price of a certain quantity of hot grey pease sold in the streets of Edinburgh.

luggs, than come again to seek Farnihurst; if he did, he should be fought with ere he came over Sowtray Edge. Hector, of the Harlowe's head, was wished to be eaten amongst them at supper." This was a moss-trooper, who had betrayed the Earl of Northumberland into the power of the regent, Murray.

Queen Elizabeth to Mary Queen of Scots.[y]

February 1st, 1571-2.

Madame,—Of late time I have received divers letters from you, to the which, you may well guess, by the accidents of the time, why I have not made any answer, but specially because I saw no matter in them that required any answer, *as* could have contented you; and to have discontented you, had been but an increase of your impatience, which I thought time would have mitigated, as it commonly doth, where the cause thereof is not truly grounded, and that it be, so understand; but now, finding by your last letter, the 27th of the last (month), an increase of your impatience, tending, also, to many uncomely, passionate, and vindictive speeches, I thought to change my former opinion, and, by patient and advised words, to move you to stay, or else to qualify your

[y] MS. Cottonian Calig., c. iii. fol. 141. Endorsed minute of a letter sent to the Queen of Scots.

passions, and to consider, that it is not the manner to obtain good things with evil speeches, nor benefits with injurious challenges, nor to get good to yourself with doing evil to another.

And yet, to avoid the fault which I note you have committed in filling a long letter with multitude of sharp and injurious words, I will not, by way of letter, write any more of the matter, but have rather chosen to commit to my cousin, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the things which I have thought meet, upon the reading of your letters, to be imparted unto you, as in a memorial, in writing, he hath to show you; wherewith I think, if reason be present with you, and passion absent at the reading, you will follow, hereafter, rather the course of the last part of your letter than the first, the latter being written as in a calm, and the former in a storm. Wishing you the same grace of God that I wish to myself, and that he may direct you to desire and attain to that which is meet for his honour, and your quietness, with contentation both of body and mind. Given at my Palace of Westminster, the first day of February. 1571–2.

Your cousin, that wisheth you a better mind,

ELIZABETH.

Sir Ralph Sadler to Lord Burleigh.[1]

January 21, 1571, Sheffield.

Please it your lordship,—The posts, whether they work or play, have their hire; and therefore I spare not their labour, though I have none other occasion than to advertise your lordship, that all is well here concerning this charge;[2] and that yesterday I received your letters of the 17th of this present (for the which I most heartily thank your lordship), together with a brief discourse of the duke's (of Norfolk) arraignment and condemnation, which I forthwith imparted to my Lady of Shrewsbury, to the end that she might take occasion to make this queen (Mary of Scots) understand of the same; and also, I gave it out to the gentlemen of this house, both what number of nobility did *pass* on his trial; and also, that his offences and treasons were such, and so manifestly proved, that all the noblemen did not only detest the same, but also, without any manner of scruple, by

[1] MS. Cottonian Caligula, c. iii., fol. 194. Edited by Sir H. Ellis. Original Letters, 2nd Series, vol. ii., p. 329, where it may be seen in the old orthography.

[2] From this letter, it appears that Sir Ralph Sadler took charge of the Queen of Scots while Lord Shrewsbury went to assist at the Duke of Norfolk's arraignment; this letter, which is not to be found in the Tixall Collection, edited by Arthur Clifford Esq., gives a graphic account of her reception of the tidings of Norfolk's doom.

common consent, every one of them did pronounce him guilty. Which being put abroad in the house after this sort, was brought unto the knowledge of this queen, by some of her folks, which (*who*) heard it before my Lady Shrewsbury came to her, for which this queen wept very bitterly, so that my Lady Shrewsbury found her all be-wept, and mourning; and asking the queen, "What ailed her?" she answered,—

"That she was sure my lady could not be ignorant of the cause, and that she could not but be much grieved to understand of the trouble of her friends, which she knew well did fare the worse for her sake; for sure she was that the duke fared the worse, for that, which she of late, had written to the queen's majesty; and said further, that he was unjustly condemned, protesting that, as far as ever she could perceive by him, or for any thing she knew, he was a true man to the queen her sister."

But being answered by my lady, "That she might be sure that whatsoever she had written to the queen's majesty, could do the duke neither good nor harm touching his condemnation; so if his offences and treason had not been great and plainly proved against him, those noblemen, which *passed* on his trial, would not, for all the good on earth, have condemned him."

The queen, thereupon, with mourning then became

silent, and had no will to talk more on the matter, and so, like a true lover, she remaineth still mourning for her lover.[b]

God, I trust, will put it into the queen's majesty's (Elizabeth's) heart so to provide for herself, that such true lovers may receive such rewards and fruits of their love, as they have very justly deserved at her majesty's hands.

All the last week this queen did not once look out of her chamber, hearing that the Duke of Norfolk stood upon his arraignment and trial; and being troubled, in all likelihood, with a guilty conscience, and fear to hear such news as she hath now received. And my presence is such a trouble to her, that unless she come out of her chamber, I come but little at her, but my Lady Shrewsbury is seldom from her; and for my part, I have not, since my coming hither, so behaved myself towards her, as might justly give her occasion to have any such misliking of me; though, indeed, I *would* (should) not rejoice at all of it, if she had me in better liking. But though she like not of me, yet I am sure this good lady (Shrews-

[b] A clause of so much tenderness, it may be supposed, alarmed Sir Ralph, after he had written it, for he immediately qualified it with observations in the malicious style he knew was most acceptable to his correspondent and his sovereign, though as he had known poor Mary when an infant, it is just possible, he might feel more yearning of heart towards her in her misery, than he dared avow.

bury), and all the gentlemen, and others of this house do like well enough of me; which doth well appear by their courteous and gentle entertainment of me and mine. My Lord Shrewsbury hath a costly guest of me; for I and my men, and thirty-six horses, do all lie and feed here at his charge, and therefore, the sooner he come home the better for him. Trusting his lordship be now on his way, therefore I forbear to write to him. But if he be there (*i. e.* at court), it may please you to tell him that all is well here, and that my lady (Shrewsbury) and I do long to see his lordship here; and, as I doubt not she would most gladly have him here, so I am sure she cannot long for him more than I do, looking hourly to have some good news of your lordship, of my return. And so I beseech Almighty God to preserve and keep you in long life and health, and to increase you in honour and virtue.

From Sheffield Castle, the xxi. of January, at night, 1571, with the rude hand of, your lordship's to command as your own,

R. SADLEIR.[c]

[c] Mary never complains of Sir Ralph Sadler in any of her letters; on the contrary, was so truly grateful, that she was put into his hands, that her thanks on that score excited Elizabeth's malicious suspicions against the old knight. Nay, Mary, when she has aught to complain of, carefully exonerates Sir Ralph whom she always terms an honourable gentleman.

June, 1572.[4]

Mary's state of mind and health in the summer when Norfolk was executed, may be gathered from some extracts, with which Mr. Turner has enriched his "Reign of Elizabeth," taken from her letters in the possession of Mr. Murray, of Albemarle-street. These letters are addressed to La Mothe Fenelon.

After acknowledging the receipt of letters from him, from the King of France, Charles IX., the queen-mother, and princess Marguerite, Mary informs him "that Lord Shrewsbury had mentioned to her the Duke of Norfolk's execution, the parliamentary proceeding against her, and Elizabeth's resolution not to have her life taken." "I was only beginning to support myself," adds Mary, "after having done all I could by medicines and bathing to allay the continual torment of my side. At this news I have become worse than before." She affirmed that the Duke of Norfolk had sealed with his blood the testimony of her innocence. "But the pain which I bear from his death so touches my heart, that it surmounts every other apprehension."

"I am resolved to die, and have grace and mercy of God alone, who by His goodness made me a free and sovereign princess. I am determined, and will have none

[4] Murray's MS. Letters, dated by Mr. Turner, June 10, 1572. The events date them just after Norfolk's death, June 2, 1572.

of *her* pardons! She may take away my life, but not the constancy which heaven has produced and fortified within me. I will die Queen of Scotland. Posterity will judge on whom the blame will fall.

"My head is so full of rheum, and my eyes so swelled with such continual sickness and fever, that I am obliged to keep entirely in my bed, where I have but little rest, and am in a bad condition, so that I cannot now write with my hand.

"Lord Shrewsbury read me a part of the libel which those of the pretended clergy presented against me—it is full of blood."

Sept. 1572.

[A letter among the Harleian Manuscripts exists, which offers a specimen of the fury of party feeling against the captive queen. It is anonymous both as to the writer and receiver, yet it was of consequence sufficient to be preserved among the documents of the era. So early as 1572, a person affecting religious impressions, shamed not thus to howl for the slaughter of a helpless female, incarcerated at the mercy of her enemies, and liable, at their pleasure, to be destroyed by them, either by private assassination, or the judicial murder which was the end of her dolorous imprisonment. A reader of the following letter, who knew not a word of the case, would

infallibly draw the inference that Elizabeth was the imprisoned victim, and Mary the powerful tyrant. And yet Æsop's fables were read and quoted by every one in that day, and of course the fable of the lamb accused of troubling the water for the wolf, was familiar to the *Christian* (as *he* calls himself) who wrote this envenomed missive. Those, however, familiar with the principles of that time-serving age, will doubt whether the writer would have so affectionately advocated Elizabeth had she been in the lamb's place at the foot of the stream.]

Letter.

There is here[e] such common lamenting, such remembrance backward, such seeing forward, such ominous fear of our queen (Elizabeth), that for mine own part I can speak with no man—and yet I speak with many—but they all hold it for most certain that our princess's life is in peril, and that her only safety is, with speed, to execute the dangerous traitress and pestilence to Christendom (Mary, Queen of Scots); and if that be not speedily done, loyalty is discouraged, and true faith put out of hope.

It cannot be but the Scottish queen is appointed to be the means to overthrow religion, and to advance all papistry. Our good queen's life is the only impediment:

[e] Perhaps the letter was written to Walsingham, ambassador to France, in 1572.

and what will not papists do to remove any impediment? When Elizabeth is dead, two kingdoms joined in Mary, what security is there for *Christians?*

Think you, beside the zeal for papistry, that these ambitious hopes of earthly kingdoms will not carry them to attempt the murder (oh, sorrow!) of our princess, who so much despiseth her own life? Will it not stir them forward whom no virtue, no pity, no honesty, no dutiful, no gracious, no merciful respect, can hold back?

Mary is now free from known contracts, for herself reckoneth Bothwell but as her fornicator, else she could not have contracted with the Duke of Norfolk. It is likely then that some marriage, if not an adoption, like the example of Joan of Naples, shall, or is already perhaps, practised with some mighty one, as for example, monsieur (the Duke of Anjou), or Don John of Austria. So is there no remedy for our Queen Elizabeth, for our realm of Christendom, but the due execution of the Scottish queen.

God forbid that our Queen Elizabeth should lose the honour of her gracious government, that posterity should say that she had destroyed herself, had undone her realm, had overthrown all Christianity in Christendom, if she do not duly and speedily execute the Scottish queen. Let her majesty be prayed to remember *conscience* and *eternity!!* God forbid so grievous a thing as for her to

carry out of this world to God's judgment the guiltiness of so much noble and innocent blood, as has, and shall be spilt, and what worse is, of the damnation of so many seduced souls, both here and in the whole of Christendom, by advancing of papistry, and the withdrawal of true religion, and all for piteous pity and miserable mercy in sparing one horrible woman, that carries God's wrath wherever she goes—the sparing of whom has been told us by God's messengers to be a failing of God's service, who hath not for nothing delivered her into His ministers' hands, and miraculously detected her treason, either to have his people preserved by her due execution, or to add more inexcusableness to them, that preserve her to waste the church of God.

It is true mercy to deliver so many—to deliver the earth from a devouring, wasting, unfeeling, destroying monster of unthankfulness[1]—is a far more glorious act than all the labours of her *rules*, or than any one victory of the noblest prince that ever served God. Will Elizabeth leave England, and us all, subject to an adulterous traitoress, a seeker of the life of her own saviour, one irritated *tyrant*—and shall I say, all in one word—Scottish queen! Shall we not trust that her majesty, our

[1] It would have been very difficult for the author to define for what his monster, Mary Queen of Scots, had to be thankful to Queen Elizabeth.

mother, will not stick to command to kill a toad, a snake, or a mad dog, whom she findeth poisoning or gnawing the throats of her infants, and presently threatening the same to her life?

[This invective is considered, in some degree, excusable, because it was issued about the same time as the Massacre of Bartholomew; and so it might have been, if the helpless captive had been at the head of a Catholic army; as it is, it merely proves that persecutors are the same in spirit, of whatever religion they may please to call themselves; and when the assassins who murdered the helpless Protestants on that black day are called to their great account, the author of this letter will probably find himself in closer vicinity to them, than will be at all agreeable to his feelings.]

1575.

James, Duke of Châtelherault, head of the house of Hamilton, and, by Act of Parliament, presumptive heir, after Mary and her son, to the crown of Scotland, died in the year 1575. He was first known as Earl of Arran, and was guardian of Mary in her infancy. When he resigned her for education in France, he was created Duke of Châtelherault. Mary, in her captivity, appointed him the chief of three governors she appointed

for Scotland. On the whole, he seems to have defended her cause to the best of his intellect and ability; "but he being a plain and well-meaning man, was vexed with all manner of politic and crafty devices." So says Udal in his Life of Mary, Queen of Scots, p. 245.

Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Shrewsbury.[s]

March 29, 1575.

Right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, we greet you well.

Whereas the Queen of Scots hath been destitute of a French secretary since the death of Rollet, and hath, by her own letters, and by means out of France, desired us to suffer another to come and supply that place about her, which we have hitherto forborn to grant for

[s] Ellis's Original Letters, vol. ii., p. 270, where this letter may be seen in its original orthography. MS. Landsdowne, 1236, fol. 47.

The question naturally arises, who was Nau, the false secretary of the Queen of Scots, and by what fatal error did she admit him into her service? The answer may well be rendered by this despatch from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Shrewsbury, whereby it appears that she recommended him into the service of her unfortunate prisoner, after the death of the faithful Rollet, so much regretted by Mary. It seems that Nau had previously been proposed as the successor of secretary Rollet by the King of France, but the earnestness with which Queen Elizabeth seconded the appointment of this man, whose treachery ultimately furnished the pretence for

divers good causes, and among other, for the evil offices which her other secretary[h] did there, whereof you are not ignorant. Now, forasmuch as the bearer hereof, called De Naou, a Frenchman, hath been chosen and recommended to us by our brother, the French king, with request he may go to her and serve her as her secretary, and hath promised that he shall carry himself in that even manner, that becometh an honest minister; nor shall practise any hurtful or offensive thing, which he himself hath also vowed and promised here, with offer, that if at any time he shall be found faulty, he submitteth himself to any punishment. Upon these respects, and at her earnest request, we are pleased that the said De Naou shall resort and abide with her as her secretary.

the execution of Mary, can be only appreciated by the perusal of the document above.'

And when the Exchequer documents relative to Mary, Queen of Scots (rescued from destruction by Frederic Devon, Esq., and printed at the end of the series of letters) are perused, it will be found that among the other secret-service money paid by Queen Elizabeth to the agents surrounding her victim, the large sum of £75 was disbursed to this Nau in 1584. Thus a simple money item, in combination with other documents, proves a lamp to lighten the dark places of history, and discover iniquity. How carefully, then, should the documents, by which alone historical truth can be tested, be guarded by a great country.

[h] By this sentence it would appear, Rollet was faithful to his trust, and that Elizabeth would have permitted none but a spy to take his place.

And so our pleasure is, you should receive him into her company, and suffer him to serve her in that place, admonishing him now at his entry, and also hereafter, to have consideration of the caution which our said brother, the French king, hath given us for him, and also of his own promise, as he will avoid the danger wherein he hath condemned himself, if he be found faulty. Given under our signet, at our Manor of St. James's, the 29th of March, 1575, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

To our trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshal of England.

July, 1580.

[After Mary, Queen of Scots, had found relief from Buxton Baths for the pain in her side, Burleigh and Sussex fancied they would do their ailments good, to the indignation of Elizabeth, whose suspicions were excited lest they should have friendly communication with Mary.]

The Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to court July 26, 1580, "This day I go with my charge to Buxton Well;" his next letter mentions his prisoner with more kindness and sympathy than ever occurred in his epistles. "I came hither to Buxton," he says, "with my charge, the 28th of July. She had a hard beginning of her journey, for

when she should have taken her horse, he started aside, and therewith she fell and hurt her back, which she still complains of, notwithstanding she applies to the bath once or twice a day. I do strictly observe her majesty's commandment in restraining all resort to this place, neither does she see, or is seen, by any more than her own people, and such as I appoint to attend. She has not yet come forth of the house since her coming, nor shall not before her parting." Notwithstanding this severity of restraint, Burleigh, by Elizabeth's orders, when he implored permission "to remove to his seat at Chatsworth *to sweeten his house*," wrote him a rating, "that the Scottish queen had been seen by strangers at Buxton;" this accusation occasioned a general inquisition regarding comers and goers, and the result gives curious information as to the customs of the times. "For at her first coming to Buxton, there was a poor lame cripple laid near, unknown to all my people, who guarded the place; and when she heard there were gentlewomen come, she cried out for some charitable person to give her some linen, whereupon they (either Mary or one of her maids) put one of their linen garments out to her through a hole in the wall. As soon as it came to my knowledge, I was offended with her, and took order that no poor people came into the house during that time, neither at the

second time of her abode was there any stranger at Buxton, for I gave such charge that none of the country people should come in to behold her."

April, 1581.

Leicester wrote a letter of remonstrance to Shrewsbury, that the French ambassador complained of the diet of his royal prisoner, "Insomuch, that on Easter-day, she had scarcely any meat, and that so bad, she could not eat it," and that Mary, finding fault, "the Earl of Shrewsbury told her he had been cut off in her allowance, and could yield her no better." Leicester's letter evidently implied that this conduct must be amended.

Discourse between the Queen of Scots and me, Mr. Somer, (son-in-law to Sir Ralph Sadler), on own journey from Sheffield Castle to Wingfield Castle, September 2nd, 1584.[1]

After the Scottish queen had uttered her grief of her long imprisonment, having spent her years from twenty-four to past forty, and by cumber and infirmity become

[1] This document is modernized from the ancient orthography, in which it may be seen. Sadler Papers, vol. ii. pp. 389, 390.

old in body, she delivered the like grief as she had done three days past, to my Lord of Shrewsbury, and Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy, saying, "That the queen's majesty had no confidence in her words, when she told the truth to Sir William Mildmay and Mr. Beale, as things have happened since in Scotland, whereof and of Mr. Secretary's[k] evil usage and reception in Scotland, going thither without her recommendation;" adding, "she foretold it, but could not be believed. And now that her majesty, having found her true in that, if her highness would trust, she hath means and credit to do her good service."

I told her (as I had done the other day), "That upon further proof of her leaving to practise and have *unfit* (underhand) intelligence with her son, and some evil ministers about him, to the trouble of her majesty (Queen Elizabeth) and of her state, she might find her majesty to be her good friend, an' that[l] writings which are come to her majesty's knowledge, wherein are spoken of an enterprise in England, tending for her liberty, and

[k] Walsingham. See Lord Seaton's Letter to Queen Mary, of September the preceding year.

[l] The antique preposition *an'* well known in Shakspeare, is frequently mistaken for the conjunction *and* in documents of this date, by modern printers. Thus, this passage is not sense without it; the meaning is, Elizabeth would be Mary's good friend *an' that* (if it were not for) writings, &c. &c.

increasing her son's greatness; and meant to come to her (the Queen of Scots), had not both greatly offended her majesty, and given her cause to think that she is a party in that enterprise, whatever it is."

"As for having intelligence with my son," replied the Queen of Scots, "and to esteem them whom he maketh account of as his good servants, and so doth recommend them to me, I must needs do that, for should I leave my son, who is more to me than anything in this world, and (solely) trust to the queen my good sister's favour, which I cannot get, I might thus be without both, and then what would become of me? And as for my son, nothing can sever me from him, for I live for him, and not for myself; and therefore, I must trust to the one." "But," added she, "if I might be assured and trust to the queen my good sister's favour—an' that she would trust me in the points which I have long offered, and now lately moved, and in other good offices that I would do, she would find good cause to think better of me than she hath done. For I have my son's own hand to show that he offers to be ordered altogether by me in all things; he hath also sent me certain things to have mine opinion of them, for which he hath long called for answer, but I have of purpose stayed it yet, and done nothing thereunto, hoping that the queen, my good sister, would have employed me in the good motions I have made. There-

fore, if it would please her majesty to be served by me, it is time; for in good faith, Mr. Somer,' I fear my son will take another course shortly without my direction, wherein I shall not be able to stay him, as I am sure I can do yet. And as to the enterprise you spoke of, by my troth, I know not, nor heard anything of it: nor, so God have my soul, will ever consent to anything that should trouble this state, whereof I seek the quiet with all my heart; for if any *unquietness* (commotion) should happen here, it would be laid to my charge, and so I might be put in greater danger."

And as to another point, I told her then, of an instruction *given* to[m] .... to be sent to the Duke of Guise, that he should hasten things, because the queen's majesty (Elizabeth), as was there written, was about to cause the young King of Scotland to die by an extraordinary death; which was so great an indignity and irreparable a wrong done to the queen's majesty, my sovereign, and most false and far from her majesty's thought.

" She replied, " That indeed my Lord Ruthven had told the king her son so; but, so God have her soul, she suspended her judgment therein."

[m] Some words are here unintelligible. Somer's speech seems to relate to some intercepted paper which Phillips, Queen Elizabeth's decypherer, could not make out. As Lord Ruthven's name is mentioned, it probably alluded to the time when the young king was his prisoner, in 1572.

"Well, madam," quoth I, "you hear what evil ministers do, thinking to do you and your son good service, but it is far otherwise. But seeing you disavow the knowledge of these things, and you offer to do good offices for her highness' (Queen Elizabeth's) service, and to have her favour, may I be bold to ask your grace what you have thought of the matter particularly, and what you would do to have her majesty's favour?"

"Marry," said she, "to persuade my son to enter into a good mutual league, offensive and defensive, with the queen my good sister, if she would so like of it, and therein to comprehend the King of France, in respect of the ancient league between France and Scotland." "And as I know," continued she, "the French king hath commanded his ambassador, M. de Mauvissière, to have special care of that, if any treaty should be talked of between England and Scotland. And such a league would be better for England than for Scotland, because England lieth nearer those, that have been dangerous to it, than Scotland doth; and so shall these two realms live long in peace, seeing no foreign prince doth claim any thing in them."

"This seemeth a very good notion," quoth I, "and a thing which the princes of both realms have often sought by alliances, and other ways; but hath been oft *empêched* (hindered) by foreign practices, and the ambi-

tion of some, as namely, fresh in memory, the motion of a match between Edward VI. and yourself."

"Therefore," replied the Queen of Scots, "it is good to look to it now, whilst it may be holpen," adding that her son would harken shortly abroad for a *parti* (matrimonial alliance), as he did already.

"Madam," quoth I, "what other thing have you thought of in this matter, for you have had good leisure?"

"In good faith," replied she, "Scotland is poor, not able to maintain a king, and therefore England must give good pensions,[n] for surely my son is so offered in other places. And thereby the queen my good sister shall gain much, for by this means she *should* (would) save greatly in her charge in Ireland, where, if she needed, my son would help me with his folk to get her good obedience; and she should not need—these two realms being thus united in amity—to spend her money to maintain war in another country to keep her own in quiet;" meaning what the Queen of England had done in France, and in the King of Spain's countries, viz., Holland and Flanders.

"Besides that," continued the Queen of Scots, "all my kinsfolk would be her majesty's faithful friends, whom

[n] It is well known that James was pensioned by Elizabeth in the latter years of her life, a circumstance which probably arose from these words of his mother.

now she doth suspect;" and then commended she highly the Duke of Guise, "for his valiantness and faithfulness to his friends. There is another thing," added she, "to be done in this case, which must be my care; that is, the pope's bull against all those of the religion Protestant, which I will take in hand to deal in—that in respect of me being a Catholic queen, the same shall not touch my realm, though my son be a Protestant, and then none will dare to touch the one realm for religion, without offending both. Thus, Mr. Somer," quoth she, "I speak plainly to you, that you may testify of my good-will to do good, if it please the queen to trust me. And I would to God the queen my good sister knew my heart, which in good faith, she shall never find false to her, so that I and my son may have her favour, as appertains, being of her blood and so near."

"Madam," quoth I, "if you mean thereby any claim after her majesty, as you have been plain with me, so I beseech you give me leave to be plain with you; that is, if you or your son *speak* (publish) anything in the world of *that matter* (the claim to the English succession), either in that treaty you desire, or by any other discourse, or message, that you may make or send to her majesty Queen Elizabeth, I know you will greatly displease her and her people, and do yourself no good; therefore, whatsoever you or your son do think thereof, leave off to deal therein,

and leaving all to God's good-will,[o] be content with her majesty's favour otherways, if you hope to have it of her!"

She knoweth, by dear experience, what it is to offend her majesty (Queen Elizabeth) in great things. She thanked me for my plainness and good advice, and said,

"She would not offend her majesty therein;" although desiring "that she might have at least like favour and estimation, as other of her blood had had at her majesty's hands."[p]

Then did I ask her opinion "where she thought the king her son had a fancy to match?" adding, "that I had heard of the Princess of Lorraine."

She replied, "There was such a notion, but thought it would not be;" and said, "that the Duke of Florence had offered his daughter, being fourteen or fifteen years, and a million of crowns with her."[q]

"Why, madam," quoth I, "do you think the duke

[o] This honest and kind advice of Mr. Somers (who seems as true-hearted as his relative, Sir Ralph Sadler, so much esteemed by the poor Queen of Scotland), was to warn Mary against aggravating Elizabeth's jealousy, by claiming to be recognised as her successor.

[p] This probably alluded to Lord Darnley, her husband, who, before his marriage with the Queen of Scots, took precedence at the English court as first prince of the blood-royal, according to Melville's Memoirs, who was eye-witness of this fact.

[q] This must have been Marie de Medicis, married afterwards to Henry IV. of France.

would send his daughter from that warm and dainty country of Tuscany, into the cold realm of Scotland?"

"Yea, I warrant you!" answered she She also said, "that there was a motion made for a daughter of Denmark,[1] with great commodity of money and friendship; but the crown of Denmark, *going by election* (being elective), her son was not sure of longer influence than the life of the reigning king,[2] and, therefore, had no great fancy that way."

Then did I ask her of any offer of Spain, she answered merrily,

"So as my son might have the Low Countries withal; but who can warrant that? But I am sure my son will marry as I shall advise him!"

Here falling into other talk, she asked, "Whether I thought she would escape from me or not, if she might?"

I answered plainly. "I believed she would, for it is natural for every thing to seek its liberty that is kept in strait subjection."

"No, by my troth!" quoth she, "ye are deceived in me; for my heart is so great that I would rather die in

[1] Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Frederic II., King of Denmark, and Sophia of Mecklenburgh. The treaty was, in 1588, renewed for Anna, the younger princess of Denmark, whom King James married in 1589.

[2] The father of Frederic II., Christian III., had been elected to the throne on the deposition of Christian II., who had only female heirs, the Salic law being prevalent in Denmark.

this *sort* (state) with honour, than run away with shame." —I said, "I would be sorry to see the trial."

Then she asked me, "If she were at liberty with the queen's majesty's (Elizabeth's) favour, whither I thought she would go?"

"I think, madam," quoth I, "you would go to your *own*, in Scotland, as in good reason, and command there."

"It is true;" replied the Queen of Scots, "I would go thither, indeed; but only to see my son, and give him good counsel; but unless her majesty (Elizabeth) would give me countenance and *some maintenance* in England, I would go to France, and live therewith among my friends, with the little portion I have there, and never trouble myself with government again; nor dispose myself to marry any more, seeing I have a son who is a man; but I will never stay long there (*i. e.* Scotland), nor would I govern where I have received so many evil treatments." "For her heart," she added, "could not abide to look upon those folk that had done her that evil, being her subjects, whereof there are many yet remaining." I had told her that they were almost all dead.

Ever in her talk she beseeched her majesty to make trial of her that, with some honorable end, she may live the rest of her days out of this captivity, as she termeth it.

This I have thought it meet in duty, to let be known to the queen's majesty, because here are some very material points.'

March, 1585.

The letters of Mary Queen of Scots, in the present volume, about this era, occasionally allude to her certain knowledge, that a dominant faction in Queen Elizabeth's council, were incessantly labouring to bring her to a violent death. This assertion, expressed in the bitterness of anguish, was founded on fact. Mr. Tytler, in his recently published History of Scotland, unveils more than one black plot for this purpose, particularly that which was frustrated by the sudden death of the Regent Marr, in 1573. A letter, published among Mr. Tytler's Proofs and Illustrations (History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 383), edited and discovered by John Bruce, Esq., is in complete unison with Mary's series of letters, March, 1585. It is from Leicester to some unknown political coadjutor, and like most of the private letters of poor Mary's enemies, looks hideous in the broad light afforded by the printing-press.

' This honourable gentleman, who makes his report like a loyal subject, and not like the malignant spy of a party, was soon after in disgrace, as well as the honest veteran, his father-in-law, Sir Ralph Sadler, for having shown too much humanity to the captive queen, who was finally transferred to the cruel Sir Amias Paulet.

Leicester to ——

Oct. 10, 1585.

I have written very earnestly, both to her majesty and my lord-treasurer (Burleigh), and partly, also, to yourself and Mr. Vice-chamberlain, for the furtherance of justice on the Queen of Scots;* and believe me, if you shall defer it, either for a parliament, or a great session, you will hazard her majesty (Elizabeth) more than ever, for time to be given is *that* (what) the traitors and enemies to her will desire.

Remember—upon a less cause—how effectually all the council of England once dealt with her majesty (Elizabeth) *for justice to be done upon that person*, for being suspected and infamed to be consenting, with Northumberland and Westmorland, in the rebellion (1569). You *know the Great Seal of England was sent then, and thought just and meet*, upon the sudden for her *execution*. Shall now her consent and practice *for the* destruction of her majesty's person be used with more regard to her danger, than the less found fault? Surely I tremble at it; for I do assure myself of a new, more desperate attempt, if you shall fall to such temporising solemnities, and her majesty (Elizabeth) cannot but mislike you all for it, for who can warrant these villains from

* Leicester bore her deadly malice ever since she refused the offer of his hand. He wrote this letter from the Low Countries.

her, if *that person*[x] *live*, or shall *live any time?* God forbid! and be you all stout and resolute in *this speedy execution*, or be condemned of all the world for ever!

It is most certain, if you would have her majesty (Elizabeth) safe, it must be done, for justice doth crave it, besides *policy*. It is the cause I send this poor lame man, who will needs be the messenger for this matter; he hath bidden such pain and travail here, as you will not believe; a faithful creature he is to her majesty (Queen Elizabeth) as ever lived. I pray you let her not retain him still now, even to save his life, for you know the time of the year is past for such a man to be in the field,[y] yet he will needs be so, and means to return (*i. e.* to the war in the Low Countries), and you must procure his stay, as without my knowledge, or else I lose him for ever; but if he come hither, it is not like[ly] he can continue; he deserves as much as any *good heart*[z] can do. Be his good friend, I pray you; and so God bless

[x] In Mary's letters to Mauvissière the reader may note, that this instigator to her murder had been trying to insinuate himself into her favour, in the preceding year, no doubt with the basest intentions. It will be perceived that Mary repulsed him, perhaps, too decidedly, hence this malignant attack privily on her life.

[y] Mr. Bruce points out that there is some error of the pen here; for the wish of Leicester is evidently, that the lame man may be detained, to save his life, lest he should lose it in battle against the Spaniards; he seems to be the same as Candish in the postscript.

[z] The errand of this lame man was not much to the credit of the *goodness* of his *heart*—that of undertaking a journey from Holland

you! Haste—written in my bed on a cushion, this 10th, early in the morning.

P. S. I pray you let not Candish (Cavendish) know I wrote this for his stay, but yet procure it in anywise.

Your assured, &c.

1585.

[Those who read the heavy maledictions which the captive Mary writes, in the bitterness of a wounded heart, against her son, ought, in justification of both mother and son, at the same time to read the letter that the prime author of mischief, the Scotch ambassador, Patrick Gray, wrote to his confederate in treachery, Archibald Douglas. Men are bad, indeed, when their own autographs remain to convict them of all, that is base and treacherous in human nature.]

The Master of Gray to Archibald Douglas.

For that within a day or two, his majesty (James) is to write answer to her majesty's (Elizabeth's) last, and that you are to hear, God willing, then at length from me, these lines shall be only to let your lordship know the state of matters here (in Scotland) since my last,

to England to urge the private assassination of a helpless female prisoner! The words, good and evil, were strangely used in those days.

which is in no worse case yet; *bruits* (reports) are more abundant, proceeding from a convention, which has been lately held, of a number of the late lords who were about the king, holden at Cairn, the Earl of Crawford's house. The Earl of Huntley was there, Crawford, Montrose, *Arran*, and Doune.[a] What they mean all the world knows; it is to cut all our throats, and seize themselves of the king's majesty, though he himself, assure you, remains constant in all points. It may be thought, how dare they presume anything, if they have not his majesty's consent thereto? and this is ever the argument his majesty himself uses; but they ground themselves *a simili;* they having his majesty's good favour, albeit they (ask) themselves, why may he not forgive them sooner, *nor* such[b] whom he headed to the death, as they now about him? This kind argument makes them over bold, and deceive us; in a day or two I shall get at a certainty of these matters.

The king's majesty hath commanded me *to write to you very earnestly, to deal for his mother's life; and I*

[a] These had lately formed his ministry and household; their leader, the Earl of Arran, we have seen by the curious cypher-letter to Mary Queen of Scots, April 12, 1584, was as inimical to Queen Mary as Patrick Gray or the Ruthvens.

[b] Those who participated in the Raid of Ruthven, who, with the exception of their leader, Ruthven, Earl of Gowry, were merely banished, and were now back again ruling at court. It may be seen here, how one succession of daring traitors after another presumed on James's want of power, and personal good-nature.

see, if it cannot be done by you, he means to take the matter very highly. All this I take, as God judge me, to proceed from his own good-nature, and to have no other matter secret, and therefore do you what we can to avoid wrong constructions. This is a hard matter, to speak truly, to the king our sovereign, not (for us) to make any mediation for his mother, and yet the matter is also hard on the other side *for you and me*, although we might *do her good to do it;* for I know, as God liveth, it shall be a staff (to break) *our own heads.* Yet *I write to you, as he hath commanded* me to deal very *instantly* (earnestly) for her; but if matters might stand well between the queen's majesty (Elizabeth) and our sovereign, I care not although she (Mary) were *out of the way.*

His majesty (James) hath written to me, "that if ye receive not a good answer at this time touching his mother, he will send me (to England);" but I will make no answer till he himself comes here, which will be on Thursday next. I *will* (shall) be very loth to enterprise any such commission, but of this you shall hear further shortly, at his majesty's being at my house. Remember, I pray you, his horses, his bucks, and his hounds.[c] I

[c] Large presents of this kind were at this time sent into Scotland, at this crisis, by Elizabeth, to divert James's attention, as much as possible, from his mother's tragedy—it may be seen at whose suggestion.

marvel you send me no word of my letters, written to my Lord Hunsdon and my Lord Admiral. Till my next I commit you to God.

From Dumfries, this 11th of October, 1586.

Your lordship's as his own,

MASTER OF GRAY.

" Patrick Gray was eldest son of Patrick, sixth Lord Gray of Scotland, by Barbara, daughter to Patrick, Lord Ruthven. Having undermined the Earl of Arran (*the profligate mentioned as the corruptor of young King James, in the cypher letter of April* 12, 1584, *which see in this volume*), the Master of Gray rose at the court of King James to a degree of favour and confidence, greater than Arran ever enjoyed, and repaid it with the most detestable treachery. When ambassador from James to Elizabeth, an office frequently confided to him, he became a conspirator with her against his country, and when at home, he was busily employed in thwarting the measures of his king, though bearing the office of his prime minister." The general charge made against him by history is, that he advised the execution of the Queen of Scots at the very time he was sent by her son to prevent it. "And this," adds Mr. Lodge, " the letters of Gray, given by him at length, fully prove, and it is almost certain that his intrigues on that occasion determined Elizabeth to put her to death."

Another editor of contemporary letters (the Sadler Papers) has come to a similar conclusion regarding this man. He says of Patrick Gray, "This faithless ambassador was soon gained, by Elizabeth's bribes and promises, to act as a spy on the Scottish queen, to sow division between her son and her, and finally, to connive at her murder, against which he was sent by his young sovereign to remonstrate." The manner in which he prompted Elizabeth to murder was by whispering in her ear a Latin proverb, which may be translated, "When dead she bites not."

To add to the capabilities of Patrick Gray for doing mischief to poor Mary, he affected to be a Roman Catholic;[4] therefore when King James appointed him his ambassador to plead for his mother's life—young as he was in years and judgment of character—it was natural for him to think, that he had appointed an agent, who was violently partial to his mother's cause, instead of an enemy to her. His affected catholicism was evidently a mask to fit him better for a spy, in which office he consulted no party but that of his own interest.

King James indicted him for high treason after the execution of his mother; but the king probably never knew the depth of his vileness in the matter, and he was only banished, for indeed he was the secret agent of many

[4] See Archbishop Spottiswoode's History of the Reformation in Scotland.

of the Scotch nobles who tried him. When banished he made his way to Rome, where, under the character of a Scotch catholic exile, he pursued his trade as a spy, in a very thriving manner, and transmitted intelligence constantly to Elizabeth, "who, to her eternal dishonour," says Mr. Lodge, "countenanced him to the last." He sneaked home when he succeeded to his barony, in 1609, when James I. was on the English throne, and died before three years—in what religion it would be a curious point to ascertain.

Archibald Douglas, the correspondent of Patrick Gray, was at this time ambassador-resident from Scotland to Elizabeth. He was a cousin of tho Earl of Morton, and perfectly worthy of the relationship; he had fled from Scotland in 1582 on the inquiry into Morton's ill deeds, and, by some means or other, had insinuated himself into the confidence of Mary, Queen of Scots, whom he regularly betrayed to Elizabeth. He had (very probably by his interest *with Mary, Queen of Scots*) been invited back to Scotland by young King James, cleared of all stigma, and sent back to England with the honourable office of ambassador. He is the man whom Mary, in the first and second volumes of her letters in this collection, so often names with complacency as *Archubal Duglas.* He was one of the blackest of Mary's betrayers, excepting, perhaps, her trusted secretary, Nau. Mary having ex-

perienced great fidelity from the two cousins of this Archibald Douglas, young George of Lochleven, and William Douglas (the same whom she calls in her letters Little Volly), trusted him with the more good-will. It was about the autumn of 1584 that Mary first began to form an idea of the real characters of Patrick Gray and Archibald Douglas. (See Sadler Papers, vol. ii.)

When the young king found that his ambassador-extraordinary, Gray, and his ambassador-resident, Archibald Douglas, were making no exertions to save the life of his unfortunate mother, he wrote the angry epistle quoted among the stream of letters in this volume, and sent another ambassador, Keith, to urge different measures; but, alas! Keith only fulfilled the old proverb, which deprecates sending "fire after fuel," for Mr. Lodge deems Keith as treacherous and corrupt as the two former ambassadors. Thus, neither James VI., nor the great body of the Scottish people, were in fault at this crisis, but the utter impossibility of finding an honest man among the dominant party of the prevalent faction of the Scottish ministry.

[The following highly-wrought letter from Queen Elizabeth is so caressingly worded, that it must excite wonder how Sir Amias Paulet avoided the snare laid for him in Walsingham's letter already quoted.]

Queen Elizabeth to Sir Amias Paulet.[e]

Amias, my most faithful and careful servant, God reward thee treblefold for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged.[f] If you knew, my Amias, how kindly, besides most dutifully, my grateful heart accepts and prizes your spotless endeavours and faultless actions, your wise orders and safe regard, performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge,[g] it would ease your travails and rejoice your heart, in which I charge you place this most just thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at, and suppose no treasure to countervail such a faith. If I reward not such deserts, let me lack when I have most need of you;[h] if I acknowledge not such merit, *non omnibus dictum.*

Let your wicked murderess (*his prisoner, Mary, Queen of Scots*) know how, with hearty sorrow, her vile deserts compel these orders, and bid her, from me, ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings towards the saviour of her life many a year, to the intolerable peril of my own, and yet, not contented with so many forgivenesses, must fault again so horribly, far passing woman's thought, much less a princess; instead of excusing whereof, not

[e] MS. Harleian, 4649.

[f] His custody of Mary, Queen of Scots.

[g] Mary.

[h] He did so when she proposed the assassination of his prisoner, for which this letter was meant as a preparation.

one can sorrow, it being so plainly confessed by the authors of my guiltless death.[1]

Let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess her, so as her better part may not be lost, for which I pray with hands lifted up to Him, that may both save and spill.

With my most loving adieu and prayer for thy long life, your most assured and loving sovereign, as thereby by good deserts induced.

[1] Elizabeth means to say, "there is no occasion for showing any sorrow in regard to Mary's condemnation to death, since the conspirators confessed they meant to take my life."

THE END.

PRINTED BY WILLIAM WILCOCKSON, ROLLS BUILDINGS, FETTER LANE.

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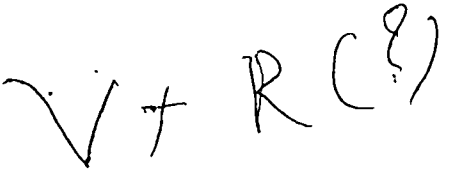

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